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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF PANJABI.

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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF PANJABI

A THESIS

Submitted to

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requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Harjeet Singh Gill

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FOREWORD

In this essay an attempt has been made to present a structural description of the standard Panjabi language, both spoken and written, based on the Majhi /máji/ dialect of the Amritsar area.

The entire study was conducted under the direction of my ordinarius, Dr. Henry Allan Gleason, Jr., to whom I am extremely grateful. Sincere gratitude is also due to the following:

to Dr. Ford Lewis Battles, Academic Dean, for encouragement throughout the research period and specifically for the discussions I have had with him on the problem of 'coordination' in syntax,

to Dr. J. Maurice Hohlfeld, Chairman of the Council for Advanced Studies, and Miss Flola Shepard, Theses Supervisor, for going over my dissertation in its final stage and making many a helpful suggestion,

and finally to Dr. Mohan Singh Dewana of the Panjab University, India, for his constant help and searching criticism during several years of my close contact with him.

This dissertation is presented to Ajit Singh Aulakh as a token of friendship and esteem.

VITA

Harjeet Singh Gill, son of Opar Singh Gill and Gurcharn Kaur
Dhillon, was born in 1935 in Amritsar, India. He graduated
from Khalsa Collegiate High School, Amritsar, in 1949.
In 1953, he received the B.A. degree from Khalsa College,
Amritsar, Panjab University. He was awarded Bhai Dit Singh
Gold Medal for standing first in an examination in Sikh
Theology and History in 1954. In 1955, he received the M.A.
degree in Panjabi Language and Literature from Government
College, Ludhiana, Panjab University, and soon after he was
appointed University Research Scholar in Panjabi to work under
Dr. Mohan Singh Dewana. In 1957-58, he represented the Panjab
University at Deccan College, Poona, for intensive training
in descriptive and historical linguistics under Professors
H. A. Gleason, Jr., A. M. Ghatage, P. B. Pandit, and others.
In 1959, he came to this school and since then he has been
studying here.

INTRODUCTION

<u>0.1.</u> Panjabi is one of the Indo-Aryan languages. According to a recent survey[1], it is spoken by 36 million people in both East Panjab (India) and West Panjab (Pakistan). Along with Hindi, it is the official language of the East Panjab. This study attempts to present a descriptive grammar of the standard Panjabi language, based on the /máji/ dialect of the Amritsar area. /máji/ is the prestige dialect; other dialects are: /duábi/ - Jullundhur and Hoshiarpur districts, /malwi/ - Ludhiana district, /petiálwi/ - Patiala and Sangrur districts (East Panjab); and /laelpuri/ - Layalpur and Gujranwala districts, /multani/ - Multan district, /puthoari/ - Rawalpindi district, /hindko/ - Hazara district (West Panjab). All these dialects of Western Panjab are sometimes grouped under the name 'Lahnda' and are considered a separate branch. This classification is highly questionable. Since there has been no scientific survey of the Panjabi dialects, no finer details can be given at this stage.

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1. Voeglin, C.F., and F.M., <u>Languages now spoken by over a million speakers</u>, Anthropological Linguistics, Indiana University, Vol. 3. No. 8. pp. 13-22. 1961.

0.2. <u>Script</u>. Panjabi is usually written in the Gurmukhi script, a development from Devanagri, the script for Sanskrit and Hindi. The Muslim writers of Panjabi employ Persian script. Since some very significant literature is produced by the Muslims, Persian script has been a very important medium for Panjabi. Gurmukhi, however, is the sole medium of writing for the modern literature in India.

0.3. <u>History</u>. Panjabi has passed through four main stages:

(a) Old Panjabi. This period is not very well marked. Roughly speaking, it begins with the eleventh century A.D. The standard literary language of this era is based on Western Panjabi, mainly the Multani dialect. The important writers representing this tradition are: Farid I, Ibrahim, Kamal, Gorakhnath, Charpat, Chand, and Khusro.

(b) Middle Panjabi - from the fifteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. This period may be called <u>The Age of Nanak</u>. It is the golden age of Panjabi letters. It is in this period that the Panjabi language was developed to express the highest thoughts in theology in the simplest possible manner. The most important date in the history of the Panjabi language is A.D. 1604 when Guru Arjuna edited and compiled the <u>Adi Grantha</u>, the Sikh holy scripture. The

Adi Grantha includes hymns by the Sikh Gurus Nanak, Angad, Amardas, Ramdas, Arjuna and one couplet by Guru Gobind Singh. Also there are hymns by a number of Muslim and Hindu saints including Kabir, Farid, and Namadeva. These hymns are composed in classical Indian meters. All stages of the Panjabi language upto that time are represented in this voluminous work. It is the beginning of the standardization of the Panjabi language based on the /máji/ dialect of Amritsar and Lahore districts. Another very important writer of this period is the Muslim Sufi poet, Shah Hussain of Lahore.

(c) Middle Panjabi - from the beginning of eighteenth century to the end of nineteenth century. In this period two types of literary activity were going on. There were Muslim writers of romances who brought in a large number of Arabic-Persian words, and a very powerful stream of secular literature. The other group was composed of Sikh writers who were working on theological treatises and theologically based popular writings. Their language was also based on the dialect of Amritsar district but it was heavily overcast with Sanskrit loan words and grammatical influences from the common language of the Sadhus of north India, called Sadh Bhakha. The important writers of this age for the romances are: Waris, Ahmad Yar, and Hashim; and for theological works: Dial Singh, Santokh Singh, and Krishan Lal.

(d) Modern Panjabi - beginning with the twentieth century. The modern literature has been heavily influenced by the Western literatures, mainly English. In recent years the leftist writers have been pondering over Russian literature for their inspiration. Panjabi has undergone further standardization in this period. Some of the representative writers are: Dit Singh, Wir Singh, Dhani Ram Chatrik, Miran Shah, Muhammad Buta, Sardha Ram, Puran Singh, Mohan Singh Dewana, Ishwar Chandar Nanda, Sant Singh Sekhon, Gurbax Singh, Balwant Rae Gargi, Mohan Singh Mahir, Pritam Singh Safir, and Nanak Singh.[2]

0.4. Literature. There is not much literature on Panjabi grammar. T. Grahame Bailey's A Panjabi Phonetic Reader, London, 1913, was the first attempt to transcribe Panjabi speech. Mohan Singh Dewana's Panjabi Language and Prosody, Lahore, 1937; Banarsi Dass Jain's A Phonology of Panjabi and a Ludhiani Phonetic Reader, Lahore, 1934; and Kali Charn Bahal's short artice, Tones in Panjabi, Indian Linguistics, Volume 17, pp. 139-47, 1957, are studies devoted only to the

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2. For further information on this subject, refer to A History of Panjabi Literature, by Mohan Singh Dewana, second edition, Amritsab, 1956.

phonology of Panjabi. On Panjabi grammar, we have, Wm. St.
Clair Tisdall's Panjabi Language, Calcutta, 1889, an extremely
brief outline; T. Grahame Bailey's Panjabi Manual and Grammaar,
1912, a very short sketch accompanying the manual; and
finally there is a more detailed work, Panjabi Vyakarn,
Amritsar, 1935, in Panjabi, by Karam Singh Gangawala.
Gangawala has described Panjabi in traditional categories.
The classifications are based entirely on semantic criteria.
He has barely touched the syntax and has not even attempted
to decribe the phonology. His Vyakarn has been printed
several times, in different forms, to meet the needs of the
primary and high school students. In recent years, there have
been numerous high school grammars based on Gangawala's
Vyakarn. None of them show any original research.

0.5. Phonemics. Some very important/has already been done
on panjabi phonology (referred to in 0.4.). However, this
is the first comprehensive statement in terms of phonemics.
The salient feature of this section is the analysis of 'tones'.
In this thesis, I have given a summary of my paper, Panjabi
Tonemics, where I have discussed the interrelationship of

tone and intonation.[3] A full scale attack on this problem
has never been launched before either in Panjabi or in any
other language. My paper is by no means the final answer to
this very complicated but extremely important phenomenon in
'tone' or 'stress' languages. All the same, it opens a new
field of enquiry. As Gleason[4] has pointed out in a recent
review, it has a strong bearing even on English phonology.
He says:

> A third type [the other two being Zulu and Ewe] of tone-
> intonation is heard in Panjabi. Here tone and into-
> nation are cumulative... English is not greatly differ-
> ent. 'Stress' has a very strong component of pitch,
> and this pitch is heard as added to that of the into-
> nation. It has been popular to consider the pitch
> features in 'stress' as quite minor but this may be
> largely illusion.

0.6. _Morphophonemics_. Gangawala's _Vyakarn_ is the only work
of any value in this field. His _Vyakarn_ does not give

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3. Anthropological Linguistics, Volume 2. No. 6. pp. 11-18.
1960., a publication of the Archives of the Languages of the
World, Indiana University, Indiana.

4. Gleason, H.A., Jr., Review of African Language Studies I,
edited by Malcolm Guthrie, London, 1960, and The Role of tone
in the structure of Sukuma, by I. Richardson, London, 1959,
in Language Volume 37, No. 2. p. 299. 1961.

morphemic boundaries; it merely lists the various types of verbs and nouns. Hence this chapter in my dissertation is largely a new presentation. Moreover, since 'tone' and 'intonation' were not recognised by Gangawala, the tonal and intonational morphemes are added features. As already pointed out, Gangawala did not describe phonology even though there were some excellent studies before he wrote his Vyakarn. Refer to 0.4.

0.7. Syntax. There has been no study of Panjabi syntax except a few references in Gangawala's Vyakarn and the recent grammars based on it. The structural approach employed in this dissertation is a very recent development in linguistics. Most of the analyses given in this section are new in any Indo-Aryan language, e.g., 'emphatics', 'negatives', 'coordination', 'the two levels of syntax - spoken and written' etc.

In this study, I have made use of the spoken language of the Amritsar area and the written language, based on this speech, represented by important Panjabi writers of the last thirty years or so. It covers all types of literature: essays, short stories, plays, novels, and biography. An attempt has been made to present the structure of the standard colloquial /máji/ supplemented by the standard written language with

differences and improvisations duly noted. There is a deep cleavage in the sentence patterns of the spoken and the written varieties. This is discussed in section 3.12.

Another very important phenomenon which is not adequately discussed in this thesis is the 'coordination patterns' within a Panjabi sentence with intervening /,/ and the general coordination among sentences in a paragraph and between two paragraphs. These coordinate patterns are described in section 3.11. Since there have been very few studies in this field in any language, the generalisations made here are preliminary and require a very thorough ground-work before any positive results can be achieved. However, we feel that within the limits of this dissertation, we have presented enough evidence to prove the import of the phenomenon of 'coordination'. In section 3.11., coordination of phrases in a coordinate sentence is demonstrated by a large number of sentences from literature and from tape recordings. In section 3.12., we have given six texts: two dialogues from modern plays, two paragraphs from representative Panjabi writers, with stylistic differences, and finally two oral texts from tape recordings. All the sentences in section 3.12. are analysed from two points of view: phrase structure and immediate constituents.

0.8. This dissertation is preliminary to our 'Reference Grammar' which will be published very soon and where we intend to give a comparative study of Panjabi and Hindi. We offer our sincere thanks to all those who helped us bring out this first structural grammar of the Panjabi language.

P H O N E M I C S

1. Phonemic Table

(a) Vowels

	front unrounded	central unrounded	back rounded
high	i		u
lower high	ɪ		ʊ
mid	e	o	o
low	æ	a	ɔ

(b) Consonants

		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
stops,	voiceless	p	t	c	t̪	k	
	voiced	b	d	j	d̪		
aspirates,	vls	ph	th	ch	t̪h	kh	
fricatives,	vls	(f)	s		š		
	vcd		(z)				h
laterals	vcd		l		l̪		
nasals	vcd	m	n	ñ	n̪	ŋ	
flaps	vcd		r		r̪		

(c) Semivowels

w   y

 I. bilabial

 II. dental

III. palatal

 IV. retroflex

 V. velar

 VI. glottal

(d) Nasalization /~/

(e) Tones

    1. Low / `/

    2. Mid / ⁻/

    3. High / ´/

(f) Intonation Pitches

    /1/, /2/, /3/. /3/ is the highest pitch.

(g) Juncture

    Marked by space between words.

(h) Terminal Contours

    1. Level /,/

    2. Rising / // /

    3. Falling / # /

Total 50 + (2)

1.1 Vowels

1.1.1 Description

    1. Vowels are lax in a syllable of high tone and are tense in a syllable of low tone:

    /mér/ 'grace', /kèra/ 'circle'.

    2. Vowels are relatively longer in syllables with mid tone than with high tone. Furthermore, they are longer in syllables with low tone than with mid tone: [v́], [v̄·], [v̀:]

[láì] 'detached' /láì/

[lᴂ.ì] 'stuck' /lᴂì/

[là:ì] 'disgrace' /làì/

3. /ə/ and /a/ tend towards the front position before front consonants and towards back before back consonants:

/ᵂɔ̃t/ 'roof'

/cõk/ 'wheel'

/rᴂt/ 'night'

/wᴂk/ 'speech'

1.1.2 Distribution

/ə ɪ u/ do not occur word finally except in /kõ/ 'about', /cõ/ 'in', /kɪ/ 'that', and /kũ/ 'about'. /ə ɪ u/ may be called vowels of Class I.

/i ə ᴂ a u o ɔ/ do not occur before geminate clusters. They may be called vowels of Class II.

1.1.3 Phonemic Contrasts

/i ɪ ə/ /nɪt/ 'intention'

/nɪt/ 'routine'

/rᴂt/ 'sand'

/e ᴂ/ /mᵉl̩ / 'meeting'

/mᴂl̩ / 'dirt'

/sõ/ 'apple'

/sᴂ́/ 'bear '(V.)'

/ə a/	/mə̃n̪ /	'a maund'
	/mã̄n̪ /	'pride'
	/ə̃kh/	'eye'
	/ã̄kh/	'say' (V.)
/u u o ɔ/	/ũth/	'camel'
	/ṹth/	'stand' (V.)
	/sũr/	'pig'
	/sṹr/	'tune'
	/mõri/	'hole'
	/mṍri/	'scar'
	/rõ/	'weep' (V.)
	/rṍ/	'wave'
/o a/	/õkh/	'difficulty'
	/ã̄kh/	'say' (V.)
	/põ/	'lie' (V.)
	/pã̄/	'put' (V.)

1.1.4 Vowel Sequences

There are three types of vowel sequences.

1. Where both the members belong to Class I:

/ɪə/ /wɪə̃ŋg/ 'trick.' This is a true dipthong and the word is monosyllabic.

2. Where the first member belongs to Class I and the second to Class II. These are dipthongs and form one syllable:

/ɪo/	/pɪ̃ə/	'father'
/ɪo/	/lɪ̃ŋa/	'to bring'
/ɪa/	/lɪ̃/	'took'
/əi/	/gəi/	'went'(fem. sing.)
/əe/	/rəé/	'stayed'
/əu/	/rəú/	'shall stay'
/uɛ/	/gũɛa/	'lost'

3. Where both the members belong to Class II. These are disyllabic:

/ie/	/kũɪie/	'O, girl'
/iu/	/niũŋa/	'to bow'
/ei/	/tẽi/	'twenty-three'
/ui/	/sũi/	'needle'
/ue/	/cúe/	'rats'
/ua/	/pùa/	'father's sister'
/oi/	/lõi/	'blanket'
/oe/	/rõe/	'wept'
/ou/	/khóu/	'shall snatch'
/oa/	/ţoa/	'pit'

/ai/   /pái/   'put'

/ae/   /láe/   'attached'

/au/   /jáu/   'shall go'

/ao/   /láo/   'detach'

1.1.5 Glides

1. Where V_1 is a front vowel, there is a slight homorganic transition [^{y}] between the two vowels.

2. Where V_1 is either /u/ or /u/, there is a slight homorganic transition [^{w}] between the two vowels.

3. Where V_1 is either of the two vowels /o/, /a/ —

(a) if V_2 is a front vowel, there is a slight homorganic transition [^{y}];

(b) if V_2 is a back vowel, there is a slight homorganic transition [^{w}].

These glides are fully predictable and hence should not be written in a phonemic transcription. /y/ does not occur in the positions where [^{y}] occurs, nor /w/ in the positions of [^{w}]. There is, therefore no contrast of these glides with similar semivowels. However, /w/ does contrast with the [^{y}] glide:

[dɪ^{y}e]   /dɪe/   'of'

[dɪwe]   /dɪwe/   'lamps'

1.1.6 Vowel Sequence Table

	I	ə	ʊ	i	e	æ	u	o	ɔ	a
I		Iə						Io	Iɔ	Ia
ə				əi	əe		əu			
ʊ										ʊa
i					iə		iu			
e				əi						
æ										
u				ui	ue					ua
o				oi	oe		ou			oa
ɔ										
a				ai	ae		au	ao		

1.2. Consonants

After vowels of Class I, all stops tend to be lax in medial position, unless geminated:

/sIʈɪa/	'heated'	/nIkki/	'small'
/lĨkhɪa/	'written (mas. Sing)'	/lĨkkhi/	'written (fem.sing.)'
/wIkɪa/	'sold (mas. Sing)'	/pɔ̃kki/	'ripe'
/mɔ̃gərla/	'latter'	/mɔ́ggi/	'pot'
/khɔ̃pɪa/	'wearied'	/khɔ̃ppi/	'talkative'
/lŨkɪa/	'hidden'	/mŨkka/	'fist'
/muʝãra/	'tenant'	/sŨʝʝa/	'swollen'

All consonants, in final position, have a vocalic release:
⌈c^V⌉ /c/.

/n̲ ŋ l̲ r̲ / do not occur word initially.

/ñ/ does not occur word finally.

/h/ occurs only word initially.

1.2.1. Phonemic Contrasts

labials /p b m/	/pūra/	'complete'
	/būra/	'brown'
	/mūr̲a/	'chair'
	/lᵌppi/	'gathered with hands'
	/lébbi/	'found'
	/lᵌmmi/	'long'
	/cīp/	'wash'(V.)'
	/cᵌb/	'bite'(V.)'
	/cᵌm/	'leather'
dentals /t d n/	/tᵌr̲ /	'watch'(V.)
	/dᵌr̲ /	'swallow'
	/nᵌr̲ /	'vein'
	/kᵌtti/	'woven'
	/kᵌdi/	'sometimes'
	/kᵌnni/	'corner'
	/sᵌt/	'seven'
	/sᵌd/	'call'(V.)
	/sén/	'a hole made by thieves'

palatals /c j/ /côr/ 'thief'

       /jôr/ 'strength'

       /rôcia/ 'mixed'

       /rôjjia/ 'contented'

       /kôc/ 'glass'

       /kôj/ 'cover'

retroflexes

  /ṭ ḍ ṇ / /môṭi/ 'fat'

       /módi/ 'leader'

       /móṇi/ 'Mohani' - a name of a boy

       /chôṭ / 'a big bag'

       /chôḍ / 'leave'

       /chôṇ / 'get filtered'

dentals and retroflexes

  /t ṭ / /tĩr/ 'arrow'

       /ṭĩr/ 'squint eye'

       /môti/ 'pearl'

       /môṭi/ 'fat'

       /jôt/ 'wool'

       /jôṭ / 'farmer'

  /d ḍ / /dãṇ / 'charity'

       /ḍáṇ / 'branch'

       /óddi/ 'half'

       /ôḍḍi/ 'separated'

	/wə́d/	'extra'
	/wə́d̲/	'cut '(V.)'
/n n̲ /	/ūnī/	'woolen'
	/ūn̲ī/	'not full'
	/mə̃n/	'mind'
	/mə̃n̲ /	'a maund'

aspirates and non-aspirates

/p ph/	/pə̃l̲ /	'a moment'
	/phə̃l̲ /	'fruit'
	/jūppa/	'yoked'
	/jə̃ppha/	'stronghold'
	/lə̃p/	'plaster'
	/lə̃ph/	'mattress'
/t th/	/tə̃l̲ /	'tank'
	/thə̃l̲ /	'a big dish'
	/pə̃ttī/	'a leaf'
	/pə̃tthī/	'plastered'
	/rə̃t/	'blood'
	/rə̃th/	'chariot'
/t̲ t̲h/	/t̲ika/	'injection'
	/t̲hîka/	'pebble'
	/mĪt̲t̲ī/	'soil'
	/mĪt̲t̲hī/	'sweet'

	/mə̃ṭ /	'a big pot'
	/mə̃th/	'an assembly'
/c ch/	/cán̲ī/	'a sugar syrup'
	/chán̲ī/	'wife of a money-lender'
	/mə̃col/	'flared'
	/mə̃cohī/	'fish'
	/wĭc/	'in'
	/rĭch/	'bear'
/k kh/	/kə̃l̲ī/	'black'
	/khə̃l̲ī/	'a very small stream'
	/sŭkka/	'dry'
	/sŭkkha/	'an intoxicating drug'
	/sŭk/	'dryness'
	/sŭkh/	'all right'

flaps and retroflexes

/r̲ d̲ /	/sə̃r̲a/	'jealousy'
	/sə̃d̲a/	'ours'
	/mŭr̲ /	'turn' (V.)
	/mŭd̲ /	'root'
/l l̲ r̲ /	/pə̃lī/	'name of a girl'
	/pə̃l̲ī/	'brought up'
	/pə̃r̲ī/	'tore away'
	/mə̃l/	'occupy'
	/mə̃l̲ /	'rub'
	/mə́r̲ /	'stick' (V.)

aspirate and retroflex

/ch ă/   /chăd/   'hole'

                /ˇsăr/   'lion'

Fricatives /f/ and /z/ are used in loan words from Urdu,
in standard speech of educated people and in the written
language. In colloquial speech, however, these are substitu-
ted by /pʰ/ and /j/:

/făran/   'at once',   colloquial /pʰăran/

/zăr/   'strength'   /jăr/

/ñ/ and /ŋ/ are very infrequent phonemes. They occur
mostly with homorganic stops:

/añana/   'child'

/mañña/   'to brush'

/kăŋan /   'bracelet'   /kăŋga/   'comb'

with homorganic stops

/lămp/   'lamp'

/ămb/   'mango'

/sănt/   'saint'

/bănd/   'closed'

/kăñc/   'glass'

/săñja/   'cooperative'

/săŋkra/   'a hundred unit'

/wĭŋga/   'crooked'

1.2.2. Consonant Clusters

1.2.3. Clusters occur^ring finally; these clusters function as
"codas"[1] . They occur only after vowels of Class I.

1. stop + stop

/pt/	/căpt/	'slap'
/pṭ /	/küpṭ /	'disturbance'
/pk/	/lăpk/	'leap'
/ṭk/	/wăṭk/	'sale'
/ct/	/băct/	'save'
/ck/	/măck/	'slowly'
/bt/	/zăbt/	'confiscated'
/bd/	/šăbd/	'hymn'
/gt/	/pègt/	'saint'
/kht /	/ăăkht/	'hard'

2. l + stop / sibilant / nasal

/lp/	/kălp/	'wail'
/lt/	/gălt/	'wrong'
/ll/	/hélt /	'well'

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1. Hockett, C.F. A Course in Modern Linguistics./Macmillan, New York

1958. p. 85.

/ĺ̥/	/pə̀ḷk/	'a moment'
/ḷd/	/bə́ḷd/	'bull'
/ḷj/	/gíḷj/	'eagle'
/ḷkh/	/mḬḷkh/	'estate'
/ḷs/	/pṳḷs/	'police'
/ḷm/	/bə́ḷm/	'spear'
/ḷn /	/mḬḷn /	'to meet'

3. nasal + stop; hetreganic

/mk/	/cõ̃mk/	'brightness'
/mj/	/rə̃mj/	'secret note'
/ṇk/	/kə̃ṇk/	'wheat'
/ṇg/	/cḬṇg/	'spark'

4. flap + stop / /s/ / /l/ nasal

/rt/	/wə̃rt/	'fast'
/rṭ /	/cṵ̃rṭ /	'a drug'
/rc/	/mḬrc/	'pepper'
/rk/	/ə̃rk/	'elbow'
/rb/	/cə̃rb/	'wound'
/rd/	/kə̃rd/	'knife'
/rj/	/gə̃rj/	'thunder'
/rph/	/bə̃rph/	'ice, snow'
/rth/	/ə̃rth/	'meaning'

/rch/	/bĭrch/	'tree'
/rkh/	/hĭrkh/	'sorrow, worry'
/rs/	/cŏrs/	'a drug'
/rl/	/ŏrl/	'bolt'
/rm/	/gŏrm/	'hot'
/rn/	/hĭrn/	'deer'
/ṛk/	rŏṛk/	'pain'
/ṛb/	/héṛb/	'bones'
/ṛg/	/khŏṛg/	'sword'

1.2.4. Clusters occuᵣing medially; this section includes
only those clusters which function as "interludes"[1].
These clusters may occur after vowels of Class I or II.

1. Geminate clusters of unaspirated phonemes; all except
/r l̲ n̲ ṛ ñ ŋ h/ occur. All of these contrast with non-
geminates:

/pp/	/t̲ŏppa/	'stanza'	/t̲ɘpā/	'to jump'
/tt/	/ŭtter/	'answer'	/ŭtɘr/	'come down'
/t̲t̲ /	/hŏt̲t̲i/	'shop'	/hŏt̲i/	'stopped'
/cc/	/bŏcca/	'child'	/bɘcā/	'save'
/kk/	/sŭkka/	'dry'	/sukā/	'dry (V.)'
/bb/	/lébba/	'found'	/lebà/	'find'

---

1. Hockett, C.F. op.cit., p.86.

/dd/	/sãddi/	'called'	/sãdi/	'century'
/dd/	/ãddi/	'separated'		
/jj/	/sãjja/	'right (side)'	/sejã/	'brush up'
/gg/	/bãgga/	'brown'	/wegã/	'run (V.)'
/ss/	/kĩsse/	'stories'	/kĩse/	'who'
/ll/	/dĩlli/	'Delhi'	/dĩli/	'heartedly'
/mm/	/kãmmi/	'worker'	/kãmi/	'weakness'
/nn/	/cũnni/	'scarf'	/cũni/	'picked'

2. Geminate-like clusters of aspirate phonemes:

/pph/	/jãppha/	'stronghold'		
/tth/	/kãttha/	'Kattha'	/kãtha/	'story'
/tth/	/nãttha/	'ran'		
/cch/	/wãccha/	'calf'		
/kkh/	/sũkkha/	'a drug'	/sukhã/	'to suit'

3. stop + l / flap

/kl/	/mõkla/	'loose (size)'
/kr/	/nõkri/	'service'
/dr/	/pãdrõ/	'the month /pãdrõ/, about August'
/jr/	/ãjri/	'shepherd'

4. Tripartite Clusters

   nasal + stop + lateral or flap

/ntr/	/sõntra/	'orange'
/ŋkr/	/sæŋkra/	'a hundred unit'
/mbr/	/lũmbri/	'fox'
/ndr/	/jĩndri/	'life'
/ñjl/	/wéñjli/	'flute'
/ŋgl/	/sõŋgli/	'chain'
/ŋgr/	/tõŋgri/	'bundle'

1.2.5. Clusters occuring medially or finally as interludes or codas; these clusters may occur after vowels of Class I or II. All of these are of type nasal + stop (homorganic).

/mp/	/lãmp/	'lamp'		
/mb/	/õmb/	'mango'	/lũmbi/	'chimney'
/nt/	/õnt/	'end'	/sãnti/	'peace'
/nd/	/oõnd/	'moon'	/oãndi/	'silver'
/ñc/	/kõñc/	'glass'		
/ñj/	/mõñja/	'cot'	/mãñji/	'brushed'
/ŋk/	/õŋk/	'chapter'	/sõŋka/	'doubt'
/ŋg/	/wĩŋg/	'bend'	/rõŋgi/	'colored'

1.2.6. sibilant + stop / nasal; there are two types:

1. Preceded by vowels of Class I, they function as codas:

/st/	/mõst/	'intoxicated'
/sk/	/oõsk/	'pain'
/sm/	/rõsm/	'custom'
/št/	/kõšt/	'hardship'

2. Preceded by vowels of class II, the following clusters function as interludes or codas:

/st/	/pŏst/	'a drug'
/sk/	/bŏski/	'silk'
/ŝ̩ /	/gŏŝ̩i/	'dialogue'

__1.3.__ Nasalization of vowels is sometimes predictable. We transcribe only when it is nonpredictable.

Predictable positions:

1. before a nasal

[cŏn˥	'moon'	/cŏn/
[kŏm˥	'work'	/kŏm/

2. following a nasal in word final position, unless accompanied by low tone

[nấ˥	'name'	/nấ/
[nấ˥	'no'	/nấ/
[nà˥	'bathe'	/nà/

Nasalization of vowels when nonpredictable is phonemic and marked:

[kấ˥	'crow'	/kấ/
[sɪllɪấ˥	'wet'	/sɪllɪấ/

1.4. Tones

There are three contrastive tonal contours heard as follows in citation forms:

Low tone - low onset followed by a higher pitch rising to mid level / `/.

Mid tone - mid level pitch followed by a higher pitch / ˉ/.

High tone - rising onset followed by the same pitch / ´/.

The low tone is longer in duration than mid tone and mid tone is longer than high tone. If a word ends in a consonant, the contour is more distinct than otherwise. In citation forms with /2 1 #/, the three tones can be shown in contrast:

/kòra/	'horse'	/kōra/	'whip'	/kóra/	'leper'
/cà/	'peep'	/cā/	'enthusiasm'	/cá/	'tea'
/kòr/	'chisel'	/kōr /	'bottom'	/kór /	'boil'
/làí/	'disgrace'	/lāí/	'stuck'	/láí/	'detached'

The levels of these tonal contours are not absolute, but in a given position, with everything else - preceding and following words, intonation pattern - being the same, the relative contrast is always maintained. For example, mid tonal word with /3/ may sound higher than high tonal word with /1/, but with /1/ on mid tonal word, the relative

difference is clear and contrastive. Similarly, with /3/ substituted in the same position, the three tones preserve their relative differences.

1. /é cŭmni pìjji ă # /   'This scarf is wet.'
        2   3   1

2. /é cŭmni cŏŋgi ă # /   'This scarf is good.'
        2   3   1

3. /é cŭmni sóni ă # /   'This scarf is pretty.'
        2   3   1

4. /ó kól kòr gɪă sɪ # /   'He went home yesterday.'
       2 3   1

5. /ó kól pɪnd gɪă sɪ # /   'He went to the village yesterday.'
       2 3   1

6. /ó kól šær gɪă sɪ # /   'He went to the city yesterday.'
       2 3   1

In sentence 6, /šær/ and /kól/ have the same tone but since /kól/ has /3/, it is higher than /šær/. But if we compare /šær/ with /pɪnd / where the intonation is the same, the difference in level is clear; /pɪnd / is higher than /kòr/.

Further description of the tones follow in two sections:
1. in isolation, 2. in context.

1.4.1. In Isolation

We will label as monosyllabic all words which are pronounced as a single syllable in context. In isolation, however, these words are phonetically disyllabic, the second syllable being predictable from the form of the first. They can, therefore, be treated as phonemically monosyllabic. The onset of a tonal contour may fall on the last or next to the last syllable. In the transcription it will be marked on the syllable of its onset.

Tonal contours are pronounced on two phonetic syllables. If the onset syllable is followed by a neutral syllable, the tone contour will be realized on these two. If the onset syllable is final and not followed by a neutral phonemic syllable, it will be pronounced with a phonetic syllable, which is wholly predictable in form, and hence nonphonemic. The form of this syllable is determined by whether the word ends in a vowel or a consonat.

If a word ends in a vowel, the final vowel is repeated making it a phonetically disyllabic word. The end of the contour is realized on this phonetic syllable.

(a) [ǎa˥]   'come'   /ǎ/

     [áa˥]   'this'   /ǎ/

Low tone is possible only if the word begins with a consonant or a semivowel.

(b) [nàa˥ 'bathe' /nà/

   [nɛ̃a˥ 'no'   /nɛ̃/

   [kháa˥ 'eat' /khá/

(c) [pèli˥ 'brother' /pài/

   [gəli˥ 'went' /gəi/

   [wɪáa˥ 'marriage' /wɪá/

In such sequences as are illustrated in (c) the first vowel always belongs to class I and is nonsyllabic.

If a word ends in a consonant, it has a vocalic release. The end of the tone contour is realized on this release.

   [pən˞ə˥ 'break' /pə̀n/

   [ɜt˞ə˥ 'excess' /ɜ̃t/

   [bár˞ə˥ 'outside' /bár/

In disyllabic words, if the tone contour starts with the first syllable, the second syllable is 'neutral'. The vowel of the 'onset syllable' is longer than that of the neutral syllable though not as long as the vowel of the phonemic monosyllable (phonetic disyllable). /a/ of /wãr/ 'turn' is longer than /a/ of /yãri/ 'friendship', though /a/ of /yãri/ is longer than /i/ of /yãri/.

If the contour starts with the second syllable, the first syllable is considered 'pre-tonal'. Its own pitch after pause is low but otherwise is dependent on the preceding word.

There is only one tone contour on each word. In case there are two syllables instead of one following the onset syllable, the final syllable is considered 'post-tonal'. Its level is dependent on the preceding contour.

1.4.2. In Context

Pre-tonal syllables are heavily affected by the preceding tone contour. There are several possibilities. If the preceding word is disyllabic and the tone contour begins with the first syllable, its effect on the following word will be non-significant as the contour will be nearly complete on its own second neutral syllable. If the preceding word is monosyllabic or the tone contour begins with its last syllable, its effect on the following pre-tonal syllable will be much more, though not as much as it would be on its own neutral syllable. This is because of the juncture between the words which would complete part of the tone contour.

7. /já pèrà # /   'Go, teach.'

8. /ónu pèrà # /   'Teach him.'

The pre-tonal syllable /pe/ in sentence 7 is not raised as much as the neutral syllable /nu/ of sentence 8 is raised with the preceding high tone. The pre-tonal syllable /pe/ of sentence 7, however, is raised much higher than the same

syllable in sentence 8. The tone contour is nearly completed
on /nu/, whereas the first word of sentence 7 has no neutral
syllable.

There are nine combinations:

1. low tonal word preceded by low tonal word, low by
   mid, low by high;

2. mid by low, mid by mid, mid by high;

3. high by low, high by mid, high by high.

When a word is preceded by a word of the same tone contour
as its own, its contour is almost leveled. For example, if
a low tonal disyllable word is preceded by a low tonal
monosyllable, the rise of the preceding low tone is realized
on the pre-tonal syllable which raises the onset of the low
tone and tends to level the whole contour as in:

9. /pà perá # /   'Brother, teach.'

When a word is preceded by a higher tone than its own,
the level of its pre-tonal syllable is raised higher than
its own contour which starts from the second syllable as in:

10. /já langà # /   'Go, help get across.'

When a word is preceded by a word of lower tone than
its own, the level of its pre-tonal syllable is lowered as in:

11. /ôn wená kíta # /   'He destroyed.'

The mid contour of /ôn/ lowers the pre-tonal syllable
/we/ which further lowers the onset of the following high tone.

The onset of a low tonal contour is always raised by preceding low, mid or high tonal contours because the end points of all these are higher than the onset of a low tonal contour.

Preceding low tonal contour lowers following mid contour. Preceding mid contour slightly raises following mid contour and makes it level contour instead of mid onset followed by rising. Preceding high tonal contour raises the onset of following mid contour more than its end point in the citation form.

High tonal contour is lowered by preceding low and mid tonal contours. If a high tonal contour is preceded by a high tonal contour, its level is higher than the preceding one as the preceding contour might have been affected by a preceding lower contour.

The effect of following tonal contours on low tone is discussed below.

Apart from the change in level, the change in the length of the preceding contour is very important, and in certain cases, the only criterion to determine the nature of the tone.

12. /mã̃ kə̀r pə̀rıa sı # /   'I filled the house.'

13. /mã̃ kə̀rõ̃ pə̀rıa sı # /   'I filled it from the house.'

14. /mã kə̀r gɪ̃ sã̃ # /   'I went home.'

15. /mã kə̀r benãɪa sɪ # /   "I built the house.'

16. /kə̀r sóṉ sɪ # /   'Sohan was at home'

17. /pə̀rɪa kínne sɪ # /   'Who filled it?'

If low tone precedes low tone, the change, if any, is insignificant. But following mid and high tones make considerable alternations, both in level and length or duration of the contour. Following high tone shortens the otherwise long contour. In sentence 16, high tonal /sóṉ / not only raises the level of preceding low tonal /kə̀r/ but also shortens its length, almost equalises it with the following mid tonal /sɪ/. This shortening is comparatively less in sentence 14, where /kə̀r/ is followed by mid tonal /gɪ̃/. Comparing /kə̀r/ of sentence 12, 14, and 16, we observe that /kə̀r/ of 16 is the shortest and highest in level, and that of 12 longest and lowest. Length, which is very helpful in distinguishing low tone from the other two, is itself subject to considerable variations, and unless the condition-ing factor is recognized, it is hard to know which/tone is which.

The effect of following contours on preceding mid tone is mainly one of raising or lowering levels.

Preceding high tone is lowered more or less according to the following low or mid tonal contours.

The preceding examples have all had the intonation /2 1 #/. Several other intonations occur and contrast with one another. Since the contrasts between /1/, /2/ and /3/ are basically a matter of pitch level, and since pitch level also figures prominently in the contrasts between / `/, / ´/ and / ¯/, there must be complex interactions. The pitch actually heard on any given syllable in an utterance is roughly defined by the sum of the tonal pitch and the intonational pitch. With any given tone the three intonation levels contrast clearly. With any given intonation level the three tones contrast clearly. When there are contrasts in both tone and intonational level the total contrast in pitch may be slight or none and the differentiation must rest on other features (e.g., length) of the tones. Thus /3 `/will be roughly the same in pitch as /1 ´/. However, these two sequences will differ in the length, /3 `/ being longer.

This situation may further be altered by the interaction of terminal contours. The level terminal /,/ has sustaining effect. The rising /// / may cause the level of the preceding tonal contour to rise more than usual, and the falling terminal /#/ lowers the initial level of high tone

and raises the initial level of low tone. All the three
tones followed by /#/ fade sharply at the end.

If the pitches of syllables in a Panjabi utterance are
observed and an attempt is made to assign them directly to
pitch phonems, the result is chaotic. The range of variation
is essentially continuous, and any partitioning seems arbit-
rary. Moreover, pitch phenomena associated with specific
vocabulary items or sentence types are extremely variable,
even capricious. If, however, the pitch on any given syllable
is considered as the resultant of a number of separate
phenomena, order can be found. Thus tonal and intonational
pitches and terminal contours must be factored out and
many contextual effects of neighboring units must be defined.
Once this is done the system is found to contain a small
number of units / ` ̄ ´ 1 2 3 , // #/. In terms of these units
a rather simple morphophonemics results. Most words have
a single tone in all occurrences. Intonation morphemes
consisting of one or more pitch levels and one terminal can
be recognised. These considerations justify the phonemic
analysis on a factorial basis, though none of these phonemes[1]
can be demonstrated in isolation.

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1. For a more exhaustive statement on tone and intonation
interaction, see my paper Panjabi Tonemics, Anthropological
Linguistics, Vol.2, No.6 (June 1960). A publication of the
Archives of Languages of the World, Indiana University,
Bloomington, Indiana.

Since mid tone beginning with the first syllable is the most common, it is not marked except when it is desired to call explicit attention to the tone. When it begins with the second syllable, it is marked. So an unmarked word like /yarí/ 'friendship' would indicate that the mid tone begins with the first syllable. And /colá/ 'run' would make it clear that the tone begins with the second syllable. High and low tones are always marked.

1.5. Juncture

The pause between two tonal contours is assigned to juncture. For example, /jādí/ 'ancestoral', /jād dí/ 'since then'. /jādí/ is one tonal word, its tone onset begins with the first syllable, the second is neutral. /jād dí/ are two words, each has a separate contour. Similarly, /kūrí/ 'girls', /kūri ā/ 'I am a girl.'

1.6. Intonation

There are three intonation pitches: /1/, /2/, /3/. /3/ is the highest pitch, it can occur only once between two terminal contours.

There are three terminal contours:

Level /,/, Rising ///, Falling /#/.

A phonological sentence ends in a rising or ᴀ falling contour.

Phonemic Contrasts

/m³ kᵒ́l šⁿ̃r jáuŋ¹ga ∦ /   'I will go to the city tomorrow.'

/m² kᵒ̃³l šⁿ̃r jáuŋ¹ga # /   'I will go to the city <u>tomorrow</u>.'

/m² kᵒ̃³l šⁿ̃²r jáuŋga # /   'I will go to the <u>city</u> <u>tomorrow</u>.'

/m² kᵒ̃l³ šⁿ̃r jáuŋ¹ga ∦ /   'I will go to the <u>city</u> tomorrow.'

/tū² kᵒ̃³l šⁿ̃r jáeŋ¹ga ∥ /   'Will you go to the city <u>tomorrow</u>?'

/tū² šⁿ̃³r jáeŋ¹ga ∥ /   'Will you go to the <u>city</u>?'

/wĩr² ² # /   'Brother.' (politely calling)

/wĩr² ² ∥ /   'Was it brother? (surprised)

/mᵒ́n³ ne¹ # /   '<u>Mohan</u> did it.'

/mᵒ́n³ ne¹ ∥ /   'Did Mohan do it? (showing

surprise as if Mohan could never

have done it)'

/sᵒ́n² nef² gɪ́ă¹ # /   'Sohan did not go.'

/sᵒ́n² ², nef² gɪ́ă¹ # /   'Did you ask about Sohan? No,

he did not go.'

/m³ ónu² kɪá³ aí¹ , pᵊr² ó nef² ăǎ¹a # /   'I told him but he did not come.'

MORPHOPHONEMICS

<u>2.1.</u> There are three morphemically determined classes.

    1. Nominals of structure

        (a) stem + case suffix

        (b) stem + case suffix + number suffix

Stems may be simple or composite i.e., one morpheme or

two. Sometimes case and number are signalled by one and the

same morpheme as in singular forms.

    2. Verbals of structure

        (a) stem + tense suffix

        (b) stem + tense suffix + number suffix

        (c) stem + person suffix + tense suffix + number suffix
        (d) stem + tense suffix + person suffix
        (e) stem only

    3. Correlatives

<u>2.2.</u> The following morphophonemic rules apply in the inflec-

tion of nouns and verbs:

    1. /a/ + /a/ = /awa/ ~ /a/

        /o/ + /o/ = /owo/ ~ /o/

        /e/ + /e/ = /ewe/ ~ /e/

        /i/ + /i/ = /i/

    2. /a/ + /e/ = /awe/ ~ /ae/

        /æ/ + /e/ = /æ/

    3. When a vowel suffix is added to a stem of pattern

CVCCVC, where CC is a geminate cluster, the gemination is

simplified and the final vowel is substituted by zero:

        /kukker / + /a/ = /kukra/

4. If the stem ends in /r/, the suffixes, which otherwise begin with /n̠ / will begin with /n/:

      /ker-na/ 'to do'

      /ja-n̠a/ 'to go'

5. If the stem ends in a consonant except a flap or a lateral, the suffixes which otherwise are /n̠ / or /n/ will be /en̠ / or /ən/:

      /ja-n̠a/ 'to go'   /já-n̠ /

      /ness-n̠a/ 'to run'   /ness-ən̠ /

6. If the stem ends in a flap or a lateral and if that flap or lateral is preceded by a vowel of Class II, rule 5 applies. If it is preceded by a vowel of Class I, rule 5 does not apply:

      /mar-na/ 'to kill'   /mar-ən/

      /tol̠-n̠a/ 'to weigh' /tol̠-ən̠ /

      /phɪr-na/ 'to move' /phɪr-n/

      /mɪl̠-n̠a/ 'to meet' /mɪl̠-n̠/

2.3. The following paradigms of nouns occur:

		singular		plural
I.				
	direct	/mund̪a/	'boy'	/mund̪e/
	oblique	/mund̪e/		/mund̪iã/
	vocative	/mund̪ia/		/mund̪io/
II.	direct	/tòbi/	'washerman'	/tòbi/
	oblique	/tòbi/		/tòbiã/
	vocative	/tòbia/		/tòbio/
III.	direct	/kuṛi/	'girl'	/kuṛiã/
	oblique	/kuṛi/		/kuṛiã/
	vocative	/kuṛie/		/kuṛio/
IV.	direct	/mæ/	'I'	/əsⁱ/
	oblique	/mæ/		/əsã/
	dative	/meⁱnu/		/sanu/
	ablative	/meⁱthõ/		/sathõ/
	genitive	/mera/		/sad̪a/
V.	direct	/ó/	'he'	
	instrumental	/óne/		
VI.	direct	/pɪnd̪ /	'village'	/pɪnd̪ /
	oblique	/pɪnd̪ /		/pɪnd̪ã̃/

	singular	plural
ablative	/pɪnd͂ə/	--
locative	--	/pɪnd͂ɪ/

VII. cardinal /do/ 'two'

   - ordinal /duja/ ' second'

   proportional

      (a) /dúra/ 'two fold'

      (b) /duna/ 'double'

      (c) /dówe/ 'both'

These classes vary somewhat in number. I and III are the largest. V is the smallest with only one member. IV includes only pronouns. VII are numerals.

These paradigms may be analyzed morphemically as follows.

2.4. Number

The direct singular forms are of five types:

1. which end in /a/ i.e. have /a/ as direct singular suffix,

2. which end in /ɪ/ i.e. have /ɪ/ direct singular suffix,

3. which end in /ã/ i.e. have /ã/ direct singular suffix,

4. which end in any phoneme other than /a ɪ ã/ i.e. have zero direct singular suffix.

So the direct singular morpheme {a} has four allomorphs: /a ∽ i ∽ ã̃ ∽ ∅/.

There are two numbers - singular and plural. The plural morpheme {e} has allomorphs /e ∽ ∅ ∽ ã̃ ~ wã̃ ∽ ãĩ/.

1. The stems which have /a/ singular suffix take /e/ to form plural. Morphophonemic rule - /a/ + /e/ = /e/.

/bend-a/	'man'	/bend-e/
/kòr-a/	'horse'	/kòr-e/
/cɪtt-a/	'white'	/cɪtt-e/
/jand-a/	'goes'	/jand-e/

2. The singular forms which have /i/ for singular take /ã̃/ for plural.

/kukr-i/	'hen'	/kukr-i-ã̃/
/cɪtt-i/	'white'	/cɪtt-i-ã̃/
/jand-i/	'goes'	/jand-i-ã̃/

3. The singular forms which have /ã̃/ for singular take /wã̃/ for plural.

/l-ã̃/	'string'	/l-ã̃-wa/
/g-ã̃/	'cow'	/g-ã̃-wa/

Number 1 is syntactically masculine and numbers 2 and 3 are feminine. Refer to 2.7.

4. A number of forms which have zero suffix for singular have again zero for plural (class I), and some have /ã/ for plural (class II). These classes are lexically conditioned (syntactically class I are masculine and class II are feminine).

class I

/mor/	'peacock'	/mor/
/caku/	'knife'	/caku/
/pàr̲ /	'mountain'	/pàr̲ /

class II

/rat/	'night'	/rat-ã/
/bat/	'story'	/bat-ã/
/kə́nd/	'wall'	/kə́nd-ã/

5. The following subclass B of nominals (syntactically pronouns), separated morphemically for its different patterning with respect to morphemic shapes, inflect for number as:

/mæ/	'I'	/ə-sĩ/	'we'
/tũ/	'you '(sing)'	/tʊ-sĩ/	'you '(pl)'
/ó/	'he, she '(far)	/ó/	'they'
/é/	'he, she '(near)	/é/	'they'

The hyphens represent morphemic boundaries.

2.5. Case

The ordinary singular forms discussed above are also
direct forms. The oblique morpheme {e} has allomorphs
/e ∞ ∮ ∞ ã/. The singular forms which end in /a/ take /e/
oblique suffix. Morphophonemic rule - /a/ + /e/ = /e/.

| /kòr-a/ | 'horse' | direct singular |
| /kòr-e/ | | oblique singular |

The oblique suffix for plural is /ã/. Morphophonemic
rule - /e/ + /ã/ = /iã/.

| /kòr-e/ | 'horses' | direct plural |
| /kòr-i-ã/ | | oblique plural |

Where the singular suffix is allomorph /∮/, the oblique
is also /∮/, but where the plural suffix is /∮/, the oblique
plural is /ã/ as in

| /kukker/ | 'chicken' | direct singular |
| /kukker / | | oblique singular |

| /kukkər / | 'chickens' | direct plural |
| /kukr-ã/ | | oblique plural |

Where the singular and plural suffixes are /i/ or /ã/, the
oblique is /∮/ as in

/kʊkr̩-i/	'hen'	direct/oblique singular
/kʊkr̩-i-ã̃/	'hens'	direct/oblique plural

The __ablative__ construction is possible only for singular
forms. The ablative morpheme is {õ̃} with allomorphs
/õ̃ ∞ thõ̃ ~ tthõ̃/. Morphophonemic rule - /a/ + /o/ = /ɨo/.

/pɪnd /	'village'	/pɪnd-õ̃/	'from the village'
/šæ̃r/	'city'	/šæ̃r-õ̃/	'from the city'
/koth-a/	'house'	/koth-ɨ-õ̃/	'from the house'
/sot-i/	'stick'	/sot-i-õ̃/	'from the stick'

The alternants /thõ̃ ~ tthõ̃/ go with nominals of Class B i.e.
pronouns (a), and with only the following forms given in (b).

(a)

/mæ/	'I'	/məĩ-thõ̃/	'from me'
/əsĩ/	'we'	/sa-thõ̃/	'from us'
/tũ/	'you'(sing)'	/təĩ-thõ̃/	'from you'
/tʊsĩ/	'you'(pl)'	/tʊã̃-thõ̃/	'from you'

There is no ablative formation for the third person.

(b)

/é-thõ̃/	'from here'
/ó-thõ̃/	'from there'
/kɪ-tthõ̃/	'from where'
/jɪ-tthõ̃/	'from where'

The _locative_ construction, with the exception of /kə̀r/ 'home', is possible only for plural forms. The locative morpheme {ɪ} has allomorphs /ɪ ∞ e ∾ the ~ tthe/.

/pɪnd / 'village' /pɪnd-ɪ/ 'in the villages'

/koth-e/ 'houses' /koth-ɪ/ 'in the houses'

Morphophonemic rule - /e/ + /ɪ/ = /ɪ/.

/the ~ tthe/ occur with the following forms:

/é-the/ 'here'

/ó-the/ 'there'

/kɪ-tthe/ 'where ?'

/jɪ-tthe/ 'where'

/e/ occurs with /kə̀r/:

/kə̀r/ 'home' /kə̀r-e/ 'at home'

The _vocative_ construction is possible for both singular and plural forms. The vocative morpheme for singular is {a} with allomorphs /a ∞ e/, /e/ occurring after forms which end in /ɪ/ and other forms which are lexically or syntactically feminine; /a/ after those forms which end in /a/ other forms which are lexically or syntactically masculine. The plural vocative morpheme is {o} and has only one form.

/kur-ɪ/ 'girl' /kur-ɪ-e/ 'O, girl'

/mund-a/ 'boy' /mund-ɪ-a/ 'O, boy'

Morphophonemic rule - /a/ + /a/ = /ɪa/. General morpho-phonemic rule does not apply in this case.

/kur-i-ā/   'girls'   /kur-i-o/ 'O, girls'

/mund-e/   'boys'   /mund-i-o/ 'O, boys'

Morphophonemic rule - /e/ + /o/ = /io/.

Only nominals of Class B (pronouns) are inflected for dative, instrumental, and genitive. Third person plural is never inflected for these cases.

The dative morpheme is {nu}.

/mæ/   'I'   /məī-nu/   'to me'

/ə-sī/   'we'   /sa-nu/   'to us'

/tū/   'you (sing)' /təī-nu/   'to you'

/tʊ-sī/   'you (pl)'   /tuà-nu/   'to you'

/ó/   'he (far)'   /ó-nu/   'to him'

/é/   'he (near)'   /é-nu/   'to him'

/məīnu/, /təīnu/ are colloquial. In the written language they are /mænu/ and /tenu/.

The instrumental construction is possible only for third person singular. The instrumental morpheme is {ne}.

/ó/   'he (far)'   /ó-ne/

/é/   'he (near)'   /é-ne/

The **genitive** morpheme is {r} with allomorphs /r ∾ d ∾ d̠/.

/mæ/	'I'	/me-r-a/	'mine'
/ə-sī/	'we'	/sa-d̠-a/	'ours'
/tū/	'you (sing)'	/te-r-a/	'yours'
/tu-sī/	'you (pl)'	/tuᾱ-d̠-a/	'yours (pl)'
/ó/	'he (far)'	/ó-d-a/	'his'
/ĕ̆/	'he (near)'	/é-d-a/	'his'

Final /a/ is a singular suffix.

It is a matter of taste whether we consider the last three cases as case inflections or merely new shapes of the respective postpositions. Maybe /ónu/, /óne/, /óda/ are morphologically two words each and only phonologically one word each. For example, compare the following forms:

/món nu/	'to Mohan'	and	/ónu/	'to him'
/món ne/	'Mohan (instr)		/óne/	'he (instr)'
/món da/	'Mohan's'		/óda/	'his'

The same is true of ablative. The ablative postposition /tõ̃/ has taken different forms /õ ∾ thõ ~ tthõ/. It seems, there are only four genuine formations which can be called case inflections and they are - direct, oblique, locative, and vocative. The description of others, however, is justified

for the simple reason that the forms are different from the
regular postpositions and their distribution is very much
restricted and has to be explained and described somewhere.

2.6. Numerals may be considered nominals of Class C. They
inflect for ordinals and proportionals.

The <u>ordinal</u> morpheme is {j} with allomorphs /e ∞ j ∞ r ∞ th ∞
w/.

	Cardinals		Ordinals	
/ɪk/	'one'	/pəI-1-a/	'first'
/do/	'two'	/du-j-a/	'second'
/tɪn/	'three'	/ti-j-a/	'third'
/car/	'four'	/ceũ-th-a/	'fourth'
/pəñj/	'five'	/pəñj-w-ã/	'fifth'
/che/	'six'	/che-w-ã̃/	'sixth'
--		--	
/yarã̃/	'eleven'	/yár-w-ã/	'eleventh'
/barã̃/	'twelve'	/bár-w-ã/	'twelfth'

From 'eleven' onwards, the first syllable takes high tone
before the ordinal morpheme.

In <u>proportionals</u> we have three morphemes - {r}, {n}, {e}.
{r} indicates forms like 'two fold','three fold', etc.,

{n̲} indicates forms like 'double', 'triple', etc.,
{e} indicates forms like 'both', 'all three', etc.

{r} :

/ɪk/	'one'	/ká-r-a/	'one fold'
/do/	'two'	/dú-r-a/	'two fold'
/tɪn/	'three'	/tí-r-a/	'three fold'
/car/	'four'	/có-r-a/	'four fold'

In the stem, alongwith the vowel alternations, there is a high tone before the morpheme {r}.

{n̲} :

/do/	'two'	/du-n̲-a/	'double'
/tɪn/	'three'	/ti-n̲-a/	'triple'
/car/	'four'	/co-n̲-a/	'quadruple'

{e} :

/do/	'two'	/dó-e/	'both'
/tɪn/	'three'	/tɪnn-e/	'all three'
/car/	'four'	/cár-e/	'all four'
/pəñj/	'five'	/péñj-e/	'all five'
/che/	'six'	/chél-e/	'all six'

As before {r} morpheme, the stem before the morpheme {e} takes high tone.

Almost all the forms that occur in ordinals and proportionals have been recorded in the above section.

2.7. Gender

2.7.1. For Panjabi nominals, gender is mainly a lexical category. No satisfactory morphemic analysis is possible. For Panjabi verbals, the morphemic statement is very simple. All verbal constructions, where gender is indicated, always have the same morphemes without any allomorphic variants. These morphemes are:

masculine singular	{a}
masculine plural	{e}
feminine singular	{i}
feminine plural	{ĩã}

Gender and number are indicated by one and the same morpheme. Refer to 2.7.4.

2.7.2. Because of the gender-number agreement within noun and verb phrases and a general agreement of noun and verb phrases in a sentence, strictly speaking, gender is considered a syntactic category. All the same, since gender is a very important category in Panjabi syntax, a few generalizations about the gender of nominals are given below.

2.7.3. There are two genders - masculine and feminine. Every Panjabi nominal is assigned to one of these. The first generalization can be made as follows. Nominals which end in /a/ are masculine singular. They take /i/ to form feminine singular. Morphophonemic rule - /a/ + /i/ = /i/.

/leṛk-a/ 'boy'   /leṛk-i/ 'girl'

/cac-a/ 'uncle'   /cac-i/ 'aunt'

/kòṛ-a/ 'horse'   /kòṛ-i/ 'mare'

There.are, however, some exceptions. The nominals which
end in /i/ and are masculine singular (purely a lexical
identification), take {ən} to form feminine singular.

/tòb-i/   'washerman'   /tòb-ən /

/mal-i/   'gardener'   /mal-ən/

2.7.4. Masculine singular nominals having {a} suffix take
{e} for masculine plural. Feminine singular nominals having
{i} suffix take {ĩa} for feminine plural.

/leṛk-a/ 'boy'   /leṛk-e/ 'boys'

/leṛk-i/ 'girl'   /leṛk-ĩã/ 'girls'

With this analysis, instead of calling /a/ and /i/
two variants of the singular morpheme, as we did in 2.4.,
we shall, now, call {a} as masculine singular, and {i} as
feminine singular. Similarly, {e} as masculine plural, and
{ĩã} as feminine plural. This is how these morphemes will
be referred to in the following sections.

2.7.5. The gender of most of the inanimates and some of the
animates is entirely a lexical matter and so no attempt at
further morphemic analysis is made here.

2.8. Verbals

There are three types of bases: primary, simple causal, double causal. The simple causal morpheme is {o}, and the double causal morpheme is {wo}. The following description shows the alternations in the base forms before the infinitive suffix {na}.

1. The first vowel of the causal base is always /ə/, the gemination, if any, is simplified.

Primary		Simple	Double
/jur-na/	'to become stitchéd'	/jər-ö-na/	/jər-wö-na/
/sutt-na/	'to throw'	/sət-ö-na/	/sət-wö-na/
/udd-na/	'to fly'	/əd-ö-na/	/əd-wö-na/
/mur-na/	'to return'	/mər-ö-na/	/mər-wö-na/

2. If the base ends in /æ/, this /æ/ alternates with /ø/ in the simple causal and with /ə/ in the double causal.

/pæ-na/	'to lie down'	/p-o-na/	/pə-wö-na/

3. The high tone of the primary base remains high in the simple causal but alternates with low tone in the double causal and also there is a shift from the first syllable to the second. If the primary base has a low tone, there is no alternation throughout.

/lǽ-ṇa/	'to get down'	/l-ó-ṇa/	/lə-wǒ-ṇa/
/t̯ǽ-ṇa/	'to fall flat'	/t̯-ǒ-ṇa/	/t̯ə-wǒ-ṇa/

4. If the base ends in /iu/, /o/, or /o/, there is no simple causal formation.

Primary		Double
/siꞷ-ṇa/	'to sew'	/sə-wǒ-ṇa/
/jiꞷ-ṇa/	'to live'	/je-wǒ-ṇa/
/co-ṇa/	'to milk'	/cə-wǒ-ṇa/
/po-ṇa/	'to put'	/pə-wǒ-ṇa/

5. If the primary base ends in /i/, this /i/ alternates with /ɪ/ and there is no double causal formation.

Primary		Simple
/pi-ṇa/	'to drink'	/pɪ-ǒ-ṇa/
/pí-ṇa/	'to grind'	/pɪ-ǒ-ṇa/

The high tone alternates with low tone.

6. The disyllabic primary bases are extended only to simple causal and the vowel of the first syllable is substituted by /ə/ and of the second syllable by /ɵ/.

Primary		Simple
/mukker-na/	'to deny'	/mekr-ɵ-ṇa/
/ugger-ṇa/	'to show up'	/egr-ɵ-ṇa/

7. There are lexically conditioned bases which do not have causal formations such as:

/ja-na/ 'to go'

/o-na/   'to come'

2.9. The following paradigms of verbs occur.

Infinitive /lə-na/ 'to take'

	Present I	Present II	Past
mas. sing.	/ləɪ-n-a/	/ləɪ-nd-a/	/l-ɪ-ã/
mas. pl.	/ləɪ-n-e/	/ləɪ-nd-e/	/l-ə-ã/
fem. sing.	/loɪ-n-i/	/ləɪ-nd-i/	/l-ə-ɪ/
fem. pl.	/ləɪ-n-ɪã/	/ləɪ-nd-ɪã/	/l-ə-ɪã/

Present Perfect   /ləɪ-nd-ɪã/

Past Perfect   /l-ɪ-ã/

Present perfect and past perfect do not have gender-number morphemes.

Future

1st person

mas. sing.	mas. pl.	fem. sing.	fem. pl.
/lə́-wa-ŋg-a/	/lə́-wa-ŋg-e/	/lə́-wa-ŋg-i/	/lə́-wa-ŋg-ĩ́ã/

2nd person

/lə́-we-ŋg-a/	/lə́-wo-g-e/	/lə́-we-ŋg-i/	/lə́-wo-g-ĩ́ã/

3rd person

/lə́-we-g-a/	/lə́-n̠-g-e/	/lə́-we-g-i/	/lə́-n̠-g-ĩ̃ã/

Imperative

Only for second person. There is no gender distinction.

Singular	Plural
/lə/	/l-ə́/

Polite Imperative

Singular	Plural
/lə-ɪ/	/lɪ-ə̃/

Hortative

There is no gender distinction.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	/lə-wã/	/lə-íe/
2nd person	/lə-wə̃/	/lə́-wo/
3rd person	/lə-we/	/lə́-n̠/

Optative

Only gender-number distinction is made.

mas. sing.   mas. pl.   fem. sing.   fem pl.

/lə-id-a/   /lə-id-e/   /lə-id-i/   /lə-id-ĩã/

Conditional Infinitive   /lə-n /

Imperfect Infinitive   /lə-no/

Obligatory   /lə/

The morphemic analysis of these paradigms is given below.

2.10. Present Tense

There are two present tense morphemes:

I. {n}. Restrictions on persons; goes only with first and second person.

II. {nd}. No restriction. It has allomorphs /nd ~ d/. If the stem ends in a vowel, it takes allomorph /nd/, if it ends in a consonant, it takes /d/.

The semantic difference between I and II is that I shows more immediacy than does II.

The following alternations occur in the stem forms with respect to the infinitive.

(a)   /o/ ~ /ou/

/nõ-na/ 'to bathe'   I. /neũ-n-a/   II. /neũ-nd-a/

(b) /æ/ ~ /əi/

/bǽ-ṇa/ 'to sit' I. /bəí-n-a/ II. /bəí-nd-a/

/rǽ-ṇa/ 'to live' /rəí-n-a/ /rəí-nd-a/

(c) Final /n/ of the stem alternates with /ṇ / before /d/ only if the stem in the infinitive has mid tone.

/jan-ṇa/ ' to know' II. /jaṇ-d-a/

/man-ṇa/ 'to enjoy' /maṇ-d-a/

/rín-ṇa/ 'to cook' /rín-d-a/

/pèn-ṇa/ 'to break' /pèn-d-a/

(d) There are some irregular alternations.

			colloquial	written
/wekh-ṇa/	'to see'	I.	/wé-n-a/	/wekh-n-a/
		II.	/wé-nd-a/	/wekh-d-a/
/akh-ṇa/	'to say'	I.	/á-n-a/	/akh-n-a/
		II.	/á-nd-a/	/akh-d-a/
/dɪss-ṇa/	'to be seen'	I.	/dí-n-a/	/dɪss-n-a/
		II.	/dí-nd-a/	/dɪss-d-a/

Both colloquial and written forms are used in the standard speech.

/ho-ṇa/ 'to be' I. /hu-n-a/

II. /hu-nd-a/

Structure: stem + tense + gender-number

2.11. Present Perfect

The present perfect morpheme is {ɪã्}.

/lo-ṉa/	'to stick'	/lo-nd-ɪ㶧/
/go-ṉa/	to sing'	/go-nd-ɪã/

The gemination of the infinitive is simplified.

/kuṭṭ-ṉa/	'to beat'	/kuṭ-d-ɪã/
/suṭṭ-ṉa/	'to throw'	/suṭ-d-ɪã/

/æ/ alternates with /əi/

/læ-ṉa/	'to take'	/ləɪ-nd-ɪã/

Final /n/ of the stem alternates with /ṉ /.

/jan-ṉa/	'to know'	/jaṉ-d-ɪã/

Structure: stem + present tense morpheme + present perfect

tense morpheme

2.12. Past Tense

2.12.1. Past tense morpheme {ɪ} has the following allomorphs:

/ɪ ∞ ə ∞ ɸ ∞ t ~ tt ∞ d ~ dd ∞ tth ∞ ṯh ~ ṭṭh/

2.12.2. (a) Allomorph /ɪ/ has restriction on gender-number.

It occurs only with masculine singular.

(b) If a stem ends in a geminated consonant from any of the following consonants, it may take /ɪ/ allomorph or may have only zero substitute, both the forms being in free variation. These consonants are: /b t̤ c j g t̤h s/.

(c) If a stem is a single phoneme, it will have allomorph /ə/ everywhere except before the masculine singular suffix /a/.

(d) If a stem has more than one phoneme, it will have allomorph /ø/ everywhere except before masculine singular suffix /a/.

2.12.3. Allomorph /t/ has very low frequency; it normally goes with those forms whose stems end in /i/ as in

/pi-n̤a/   'to drink'   /pi-t-a/
/si-n̤-a/   'to sew'   /si-t-a/.

There are some exceptions but they only in those cases which take allomorph /ɪ/ also. In such cases, /t/ and /ɪ/ are in free variation.

/nò-n̤a/   'to take bath'   /nà-ɪ-a/   /nà-t-a/
/perð-n̤a/ 'to string'   /perð-ɪ-a/   /perð-t-a/
/tò-n̤a/   'to wash'   /tò-ɪ-a/   /tò-t-a/

2.12.4. Allomorphs /tt ∞ dd ∞ tth/ are lexically conditioned. Their occurrences are listed below.

/tt/

/so-na/	'to sleep'	/su-tt-a/
/jo-na/	'to yoke'	/ju-tt-a/
/de-na/	'to give'	/dɪ-tt-a/

/dd/. Stems which take /dd/ end in /n/ in the infinitive.

/wín-na/	'to prick'	/wí-dd-a/
/gún-na/	'to kneed'	/gú-dd-a/
/rín-na/	'to cook'	/rí-dd-a/
/bén-na/	'to tie'	/bə́-dd-a/

/tth/

/ness-na/	'to run'	/ne-tth-a/ also /ness-ɪ-a/
/dæ-na/	'to get placed'	/de-tth-a/
/tə̀-na/	'to fall flat'	/tə̀-tth-a/

2.12.5. Allomorphs /d ∞ tth ∞ th/ go with only one form each.

/kha-na/	'to eat'	/khá-d-a/
/læ-na/	'to get down'	/le-tth-a/
/bæ-na/	'to sit'	/beɪ-th-a/

<u>2.12.6.</u> The following alternations in the stems occur with respect to infinitive bases. All these alternations occur before allomorph /ɪ/ described in 2.12.2.

(a) /æ/ ~ /ø/

| /læ-na/ | 'to take' | /l-ɪ-ǽ/ |
| /rǽ-na/ | 'to live' | /r-ɪ-ǽ/ |

(b) /o/ ~ /a/

| /jəgǽ-na/ | 'to wake up' | /jəgǽ-ɪ-a/ |
| /o-na/ | 'to come' | /a-ɪ-a/ |

Exception

| /so-na/ | 'to sleep' | /sə̃-ɪ⁴n/ |

(c) Final /ḷ/ preceded by /o/ and one consonant, except /r/, alternates with /l/.

| /boḷ-na/ | 'to speak' | /bol-ɪ-a/ |
| /toḷ-na/ | 'to weigh' | /tol-ɪ-a/ |

but

| /roḷ-na/ | 'to demolish' | /roḷ-ɪ-a/ |

(d) /ŋ/ ~ /ŋg/

| /tǽŋ-na/ | 'to aspire' | /tǽŋg-ɪ-a/ |

(e) /u/ ~ /w/

| /jɪū-na/ | 'to live' | /jɪw-ɪ-a/ |

(f) /ɔ/ ~ /ə̃w/

/pɔ̀-n̪a/ 'to wander' /pə̃w-ɪ-a/

(g) /n/ ~ /n̪/

/jan-n̪a/ 'to know' /jan̪-ɪ-a/

/man-n̪a/ 'to enjoy' /man̪-ɪ-a/

2.12.7. There are some irregular alternations. All but one occur with less frequent allomorphs.

/ja/ ~	/g/	/ja-n̪a/	'to go'	/g-ɪ-a/
/ɔ/	/u/	/sɔ-n̪a/	'to sleep'	/su-tt-a/
/ɛ/	/əi/	/bɛ̃-n̪a/	'to sit'	/bəɪ-t̪h-a/
/a/	/á/	/kha-n̪a/	'to eat'	/khá-d-a/
/í/	/i/	/pí-n̪a/	'to grind'	/pi-t̪h-a/
/ər/	/i/	/kər-na/	to do'	/ki-t-a/

2.12.8. Structure: stem + tense + gender-number

2.13. Past Perfect

The past perfect morpheme is {ã} with allomorphs /ã ∞e/ which are in free variation.

Stem alternants:

(a) /ɔ/ ~ /a/

/ɔ-n̪a/ 'to come' /a-ɪ-ã/ ~ /a-ɸ-e/ ~ /ae/

/lɔ-n̪a/ 'to stick' /la-ɪ-ã/ ~ /la-ɸ-e/ ~ /lae/

(b) /æ/ ~ /ɵ/

    /læ-ṇa/ 'to take'   /l-ɪ-ã/   /l-ə-e/

    /pæ-ṇa/ 'to lie'   /p-ɪ-ã/   /p-ə-e/

Structure: stem + past tense morpheme + past perfect morpheme

2.14. Future Tense

2.14.1. In future tense we have three types of morphemes:

    Tense morpheme

    Person morpheme

    Gender-number morpheme

2.14.2. Tense morpheme {g} has allomorphs /g ̣ʊŋg/. /ŋg/ for first person singular and plural and second person singular; /g/ for others.

2.14.3. The distribution of person morphemes is as follows:

1st person singular {u} with allomorphs /u ̣ʊa ~ wa/. Second and third are phonologically conditioned, the first and these two are in free variation.

1st person plural {a} with allomorphs /a ~wa/.

2nd person singular {e} with allomorphs /e ~ we/.

2nd person plural {o} with allomorphs /o ~ wo ~ o/ ; /o/ if the stem in the infinitive ends in /æ/.

3rd person singular {e} with allomorphs /e ~ we ̣ʊu/. /u/ is in free variation with the first two which are phonologically conditioned.

3rd person plural {n} with allomorphs /n ~ ən/. /ən / if
a stem ends in a consonant.

<u>2.14.4.</u> First and third person singular constructions, in
rapid speech, have shorter forms where tense and gender-
number suffixes are dropped.

    (a) /já-u-ŋg-a/   'I will go'

        This may be substituted by /já-ū/.

    (b) /já-u-g-a/   'He will go'

        This may be substituted by /já-u/.

<u>2.14.5.</u> The following alternations occur in the stem forms:

(a) Stems which have mid tone in the infinitive, take high
tone in the future tense. If there is already a high or low
tone in the infinitive, it remains unaltered.

/ja-na/ 'to go'   /já-u-ŋg-a/

/nəss-na/ 'to run' /nə́ss-u-ŋg-a/

/lə́bb-na/ 'to find' /lə́bb-u-ŋg-a/

/pə̀n-na/ 'to break' /pə̀n-u-ŋg-a/

(b) As in the case of past tense, final /l / of the stem
preceded by vowel /o/ and any single consonant except /r/
alternates with /l/.

/bol-na/ 'to speak' /ból-u-ŋg-a/

/tol-na/ 'to weigh' /tól-u-ŋg-a/

(c) /æ/ ~ /ə/

/ró̃-na/   'to live'   /rə-ú-ŋg-a/

/læ-na/   'to take'   /lə-ú-ŋg-a/

(d) /o/ ~ /a/

/nò-na/   'to take bath' /nà-u-ŋg-a/

/po-na/   'to put'   /pá-u-ŋg-a/

/to-na/   'to heat'   /tá-u-ŋg-a/

Exceptions

/so-na/   'to sleep'   /sə-ú-ŋg-a/

/pò-na/   'to wander'   /pə-ù-ŋg-a/

(e) /n/ ~ /n̠/ only if the stem in the infinitive has mid
           tone.

/jan-na/   'to know'   /ján̠-u-ŋg-a/

but

/rín-na/   'to cook'   /rín-u-ŋg-a/

All of these alternations occur before all personal
suffixes except third person plural where the stem remains
the same as in the infinitive but for the tone alternation
discussed above.

<u>2.14.6.</u> Structure: stem + person morpheme + tense morpheme
           + gender-number morpheme

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2.15. Imperative

<u>2.15.1.</u> There are three morphems: stem + imperative + person.

<u>2.15.2.</u> The imperative morpheme {ˊ} has two allomorphs / ˊ ~ ø/. If the stem in the infinitive ends in /a/, the imperative allmorph for the singular is / ˊ/, otherwise /ø/. If the stem in the infinitive has mid tone, the imperative allomorph for the plural is / ˊ/, otherwise /ø/.

<u>2.15.3.</u> The second person singular suffix is /ø/. The second person plural morpheme is {o} with allomorphs /o ~ wo ꞷo/. When the stem in the infinitive ends in /æ/, /wo/ and /o/ are in free variation. Compare these person suffixes with those described in 2.14.3. The second person singular morpheme in that section is {e}. /ø/ suffix here is considered allomorph of that morpheme. This justifies the setting up of a /ø/ suffix for the singular in this case. We do not posit a zero morpheme.

<u>2.15.4.</u> The following alternations occur in the stems of the singular and plural forms with respect to the infinitive:

(a) /ɔ/ ~ /a/

/pɔ-n̠a/   'to put'   /pa/ (sing)   /páo/   (pl)
{pa-ø-ø}   {pa-ˊ-o}

(b) /æ/ ~ /æ/ ~ /ø/

/pæ-n̠a/   'to lie'   /pæ/ (sing)   /pó/   (pl)
{pæ-ø-ø}   {p-ˊ-o}

2.15.5. Structure

        stem + imperative morpheme + person morpheme

2.16. Polite Imperative

The polite imperative morpheme for the singular is {I} and

for the plural {ʌ}.

Stem alternations:

(a) /o/ ~ /a/

        Infinitive   Singular

        /po-na/   'to put'   /pa-I/   /pa-ɪ-o/

                                        {pa-I-ø}

(b) /a/ ~ /o/ ~ /ø/

        /pə-na/   'to lie'   /pə-I/   /p-ɪ-o/

                                        {pə-I-ø}

Structure: stem + polite imperative morpheme + person morpheme

2.17. Hortative

2.17.1. There are three morphemes: stem + hortative + person.

2.17.2. The hortative singular morpheme is {~} with

allomorphs / ~ ∞ø /. / ~/ for first and second person

singular, /ø/ for others.

    The hortative plural morpheme is {'} with allomorphs

/ ' ~ ø/. / '/ if the stem in the infinitive has mid tone,

otherwise /ø/.

2.17.3. The first person singular morpheme is {a} with allomorphs /a ~ wa/.

The first person plural morpheme is {e} with allomorphs /e ~ ie/; /e/ if the stem in the infinitive ends in /i/, otherwise /ie/.

The second person singular morpheme is {e} with allomorphs /e ~ we/.

The second person plural morpheme is {o} with allomorphs /o ~ wo∞ɒ/.

The third person singular morpheme is {e} with allomorphs /e ~ we/.

The third person plural morpheme is {n̲} with allomorphs /n̲ ~ ən̲/.

2.17.4. Compare these person morphemes with those described in 2.14.3. There are some important differences. The first person plural morpheme in this section is {e} with allomorphs /e ~ ie/ instead of {a} with allomorphs /a ~ wa/ of section 2.14.3. Speaking strictly of the first person plural morpheme, probably all of these could be put together as morpheme {a} with allomorphs /a ~ wa ∞e ~ ie/, the two sets being morphologically conditioned.

Another difference is in the allomorphs of the first and the third person singular morphemes. Whereas section 2.14.3. has /u/ allomorph in both these cases, these allomorphs are not possible in the hortative formations.

2.17.5. Stem alternations

(a) Final /æ/ alternates with /ə/ before all morphemes except third person plural.

(b) Final /o/ alternates with /a/ before all morphemes except third person plural.

Infinitive   /pæ-na/   'to lie'

1st person singular		{ pə-~-wa }	/põwa/
	plural	{ pə-´-le }	/póle/
2nd person singular		{ pə-~-we }	/põwe/
	plural	{ pə-´-wo }	/pówo/
3rd person singular		{ pə-∅-we }	/pəwe/
	plural	{ pæ-´-n }	/pǽn/

Infinitive   /lo-na/   'to stick'

1st person singular		{ la-~-wa }	/lãwa/
	plural	{ la-´-le }	/lále/
2nd person singular		{ la-~-we }	/lãwe/
	plural	{ la-´-wo }	/láwo/
3rd person singular		{ la-∅-we }	/lawe/
	plural	{ lo-´-n }	/lón/

2.17.6. Structure

stem + hortative morpheme + person morpheme

2.18. Optative

The optative morpheme is {ld}.

Stem alternations:

(a) /o/ ~ /a/

/wó-na/   'to plow'   /wá-ld-a/

/lo-na/   'to stick'   /la-ld-a/

Exception

/so-na/   'to sleep'   /ső-ld-a/

(b) /æ/ ~ /e/

/læ-na/   'to take'   /le-ld-a/

/rǽ-na/   'to live'   /ré-ld-a/

Structure: stem + optative morpheme ± gender-number morpheme

2.19. Conditional Infinitive

The conditional infinitive morpheme is {n} with allomorphs /n~en/.

/mar-na/   'to kill'   /mar-en /

/kutt-na/ 'to beat'   /kutt-en /

/ja-na/   'to go'   /ja-n /

/po-na/   'to put'   /po-n /

Structure: stem + conditional infinitive morpheme

2.20. Imperfect Infinitive

The imperfect infinitive morpheme is { no } with allomorphs /no ~ no/.

/khɪcc-na/	'to pull'	/khɪcc-no/
/nepp-na/	'to press'	/nepp-no/
/ja-na/	'to go'	/ja-no/
/mɪl-na/	'to meet'	/mɪl-no/
/ker-na/	'to do'	/ker-no/
/ter-na/	'to swim'	/ter-no/

Structure: stem + imperfect infinitive morpheme

2.21. Obligatory

The obligatory is described with respect to the infinitive as:

/ja-na/	'to go'	/ja/
/pi-na/	'to drink'	/pi/

Stem alternation

/o/ ~ /a/

/lo-na/	'to stick'	/la/
/po-na/	'to put'	/pa/

Exception

/so-na/	'to sleep'	/sõ/

Structure: stem only

2.22. Correlatives

/é/	'this'	/ó/	'that'	/jo/	'which'	/so/	'that'	/koṇ/	'who?'
/éthe/	'here'	/óthe/	'there'	/jɪtthe/	'where'			/kɪtthe/	'where?'
/éne/	'he'	/óne/	'he'	/jɪnne/	'who'			/kɪnne/	'who?'

alternant forms

/en/		/on/		/jɪn/				/kɪn/	
/ewẽ/	'this way'	/owẽ/	'that way'	/jɪwẽ/	'which way'			/kɪwẽ/	'how?'
/ɪñj/	'this way'	/uñj/	'that way'					/kɪñj/	'how?'
				/jéṟa/	'who'			/kéṟa/	'who?'
/éda/	'his'	/óda/	'his'	/jída/	'whose'			/kída/	whose?'

alternant forms mainly in the written language

/ɪs da/		/us da/		/jɪs da/				/kɪs da/	
/éder/	'here'	/óder/	'there'	/jɪdder/	'where'			/kɪdder/	where?'

<u>2.23</u>. Intonation Morphemes

There are eleven intonation morphemes:

1. /(2) 3 1 # /   General statement with specific emphasis.

$$\overset{3}{/\text{só}\underline{n}} \quad \text{ne} \quad \overset{1}{} \# / \qquad \text{'}\underline{\text{Sohan}} \text{ (did it).'}$$

$$/\overset{2}{\text{mæ}} \quad \text{phe}\underline{\text{r}}\text{ıa} \quad \overset{3}{} \quad \text{sı} \quad \overset{1}{} \# / \quad \text{'I } \underline{\text{caught}} \text{ (him).'}$$

$$\overset{3}{/\text{mó}\underline{n}} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{ónu} \quad \overset{1}{\text{oukkıa}} \quad \# / \quad \text{'}\underline{\text{Mohan}} \text{ lifted him.'}$$

$$\overset{3}{/\text{kı}} \quad \text{hal} \quad \overset{1}{\text{a}} \quad \# / \qquad \text{'}\underline{\text{How}} \text{ are you?'}$$

2. /(2) 3 2 # /   Statement with general emphasis.

$$\overset{3}{/\text{on}} \quad \text{neí} \quad \text{meínu} \quad \overset{2}{\text{khe}\underline{\text{rn}}\text{a}} \quad \# / \quad \text{'He wont take me along.'}$$

$$\overset{3}{/\text{bót}} \quad \text{murekh} \quad \text{é} \quad \overset{2}{\text{ó}} \quad \# / \qquad \text{'He is a great fool.'}$$

$$\overset{3}{/\text{mæ}} \quad \text{neí} \quad \text{pé}\underline{\text{rı}} \quad \text{é} \quad \overset{2}{\text{ketáb}} \quad \# / \quad \text{'I haven't read this book.'}$$

$$\overset{3}{/\text{neíu}} \quad \overset{2}{\text{ja}\underline{\text{n}}\text{a}} \quad \# / \qquad \text{'I won't go.'}$$

3. /(2) 2 1 # /   Statement without any emphasis.

$$\overset{2}{/\text{phır}} \quad \overset{2}{\text{raje}} \quad \text{ne} \quad \overset{1}{\text{akhıa}} \quad \# / \qquad \text{'Then the king said -'}$$

$$\overset{2}{/\text{əjıt}} \quad \text{dı} \quad \text{oı}\underline{\text{tth}}\text{ı} \quad \text{aı} \quad \text{nu} \quad \overset{2}{\text{kínna}} \quad \text{oır} \quad \text{ho} \quad \overset{1}{\text{gıá}} \quad \# /$$

'It is long since I received a letter from
Ajit.'

4. /(2) 3 2 // /   Question demanding an answer or a command.

$\overset{2}{/rama}$ $\overset{3}{šar}$ $\overset{2}{gɪa}$ // /   'Did Rama go to the <u>city</u>?'

$\overset{3}{/wekh}$ khã $\overset{2}{jəra}$ // /   'Just wait for a moment.'

$\overset{3}{/cheti}$ $\overset{2}{kər}$ // /   'Hurry up.'

5. /2 3 // /   General emhpasis

$\overset{2}{/pəñj}$ te car $\overset{3}{nə}$ // /   'Five and four make nine.'

$\overset{2}{/pəñju}$ cəka $\overset{3}{wí}$ // /   'Five times four (is) twenty.'

6. /2 2 // /   Surprise

$\overset{2\ 2}{/wir}$ // /   'Was it brother?'

$\overset{2\ 2}{/jito}$ // /   'Was it Jito?'

$\overset{2\ 2}{/hæ̃}$ // /   'Is it?'

7. /2 2 # /   Vocative (Independent)

$\overset{2\ 2}{/wir}$ # /   'Brother !'

$\overset{2}{/caca}$ $\overset{2}{ji}$ # /   'Uncle, dear !'

$\overset{2}{/bapu}$ $\overset{2}{ji}$ # /   'Father, dear !'

S Y N T A X

General Abbreviations

N	Noun
A	Adjective
V	Verb
Ad	Adverb
Pr	Pronoun
C	Connective
Vp	Verb Phrase
Np	Noun Phrase
N-V	Noun-Verb Phrase
A-V	Adjective-Verb Phrase
p	Postposition
Pp	Postpositional Phrase
Crd	Coordinate
E	Emphasis
Neg	Negative
mas	Masculine
fem	Feminine
sing	Singular
pl	Plural
Voc	Vocative

Abbreviations for the texts cited

d   Kartar Singh Duggal, <u>Nawan Admi</u> , Amritsar, no date given.

da   --   <u>Larai Nahin</u>, Delhi, 1953.

g   Gurbax Singh, <u>Bhakhdi Jiwan Changiari</u>, Preet Nagar, 1950.

gs   --   <u>Merian Abhul Yadan</u>, Preet Nagar, fourth printing, 1954.

gd   Ganda Singh, <u>Afghanistan da Safar</u>, New Delhi, second printing, 1958.

gm   Gurmukh Singh Musafar, <u>Sabh Haccha</u>, Amritsar, no date.

ic   Ishwar Chandar Nanda, <u>Lishkare</u>, Delhi, 1953.

m   Mohan Singh Dewana, <u>Parandi</u>, Amritsar, 1955.

m2   --   <u>Rang Tamashe</u>, Amritsar, 1951.

n   Surindar Singh Narula, <u>Apne Parae</u>, Amritsar, 1955.

ns   Nanak Singh, <u>Astak Nastak</u>, New Delhi, 1959.

p   Gurdial Singh Phul, <u>Bewasi Jan Hun Nahin</u>, New Delhi, 1955.

R   Daud Rahbar, Tape recordings. (Daud Rahbar is a native of Lahore).

so   Sant Singh Sekhon, <u>Che Ghar</u>, Ludhiana, sixth printing, 1950.

ss   --   <u>Samachar</u>, Ludhiana, fifth printing, 1953.

st   Sohan Singh Sital, <u>Diwe di Lo</u>, Ludhiana, 1953.

t   Teja Singh, <u>Arsi</u>, Amritsar, 1952.

ta   --   <u>Ghar da Piar</u>, Amritsar, 1959.

w   Wir Singh, <u>Guru Nanak Chamatkar, Part I</u>, Amritsar,

                     seventh printing, 1960.

wa   --   <u>Guru Nanak Chamatkar, Part II</u>, Amritsar,

                     sixth printing, 1955.

wb   --   <u>Kalghidhar Chamatkar, Part I</u>, Amritsar,

                     ninth printing, 1959.

wc   --   <u>Kalghidhar Chamatkar, Part II</u>, Amritsar,

                     eighth printing, 1959.

3.1. Pronouns

The nouns which can not occur in construct with adjectives are considered 'pronouns'. The following pronouns occur in Panjabi:

/mæ/	'I'	/əsɪ̃/	'we'
/tū/	'you (sing)'	/tusɪ̃/	'you (pl)'
/ó/	'he, she, it (far)'	/ó/	'they'
/é/	'he, she, it (near)'	/é/	'they'

Plural forms are used for singulars to show respect to elders. Sometimes /ap/ is used instead of /tusɪ̃/ 'you (pl)'. For pronominal declension, refer to 2.5. For coordination of pronouns in a paragraph, refer to 3.11. For pronouns functioning as adjectives, refer to 3.2.1. (f).

3.2. Adjectives

Morphologically, there is no distinction between nouns and adjectives. Syntactically, words occuring in the following test frame are considered adjectives.

I.   /ɪk bớt wedda admi /   'a very big man'
          A_1 A_2 A_3 N

The order A_1 + A_2 + A_3 is obligatory. A_1 are numerals. A_2 are words like /bớt/ 'very'. A_3 are words like /wedda/ 'big', /chota/ 'small', /lal/ 'red', /teŋg/ 'narrow'.

II.   /pəjja janda admi/   'a running man'
          V_1 V_2 N
The order V_1 + V_2 is obligatory.

3.2.1. There are several categories of adjectives:

(a) The adjectives which inflect for gender-number like /wedda/ 'big', /kala/ 'black'. These adjectives are called by Parbodh Pandit of Gujrat University (India), 'black adjectives' since word /kala/ for 'black' is typical of this group in all north Indian languages.

(b) The adjectives which do not inflect for gender-number like /bớt/ 'very', /lal/ 'red'. Pandit calls them 'red adjectives' after the word /lal/ of this category.

(c) 1. Numerals like /ɪk/ 'one'. Syntactically one and
one half 1^1/2 and anything less than that is considered
singular. One and three quarters 1^3/4 and anything more
than that is considered plural for agreement with/noun or
a verb phrase. There is no gender distinction in these cases.

ii. The word for twenty /wí/ is plural and does not
indicate any gender. However, if we count in twenties,
then beginning with 'two twenties', the word for twenty /wí/
is inflected for gender-number. /do wíã/ 'two twenties',
/tɪn wíã/ 'three twenties', just like /do kuɽía/ 'two girls',
/tɪn kuɽía/ 'three girls'.

iii. The count number for hundred is /so/ which is
syntanctically plural and does not indicate gender. However,
there is a special word for the unit hundred /sæŋkɽa/ which
is masculine-singular and if we want to say 'two units of
hundred', it will be /do sæŋkɽe/ masculine-plural just like
/do leɽke/ 'two boys'. Two hundred, on the other hand, will
be /do so/ which will indicate number but not gender.

iv. The word for 'thousand' is /həzãr/. The phrase
'five thousand'(rupees') will be /pəñj həzãr$_\Lambda$/ (rupæ) i.e. the noun after
/həzãr/ will be plural but /həzãr/ like other numerals is
not inflected. However, if we want to say 'thousands of
boys', /həzãr/ will take /ã/ suffix - /həzãrã leɽke/ The
same is true of the word for 'a hundred thousand' /ləkh/.

(d) /koi/ 'some'. This adjective is always singular. The
noun or the verb in agreement with /koi/ will be in singular.
It can be of either gender.

(e) /thóra/ 'some' in its singular form can be used only
with mass nouns like /dúd/ 'milk', /pani/ 'water', /kenek/
'wheat' etc. There is another adjective /kuj/ 'something',
        like /thóra/
which/is used only with mass nouns but unlike /thóra/ it
is never inflected for gender-number. As far as inflection
is concerned, it functions like a 'red adjective'.

(f) Category (f) are the pronouns which function as
adjectives before noun phrases. These 'pronominal adjectives'
precede A_1 as:

    /mere   do   bót   wedde   mez/   'my two very big tables'
    Pr A_1 A_2 A_3 N

3.2.2. Some verb phrases function as adjectives and as
adjectives they are not only inflected for gender and number
to agree with the noun but also, like other adjectives,
inflect for case (when the noun phrase is in construct with
a postposition).

Examples:

direct -   /pə̀jj-a   jand-a   leṛk-a/   'the boy who is running'

oblique -   /pə̀jj-e   jand-e   leṛk-e   ne/

direct -   /kheḷõt-a   hoɪ-a   leṛk-a/   'the boy who is standing'

oblique -   /kheḷõt-e   ho-e   leṛk-e   ne/

       /ne/ is (instrumental) postposition.

3.3. Postpositions

3.3.1. There are three types of postpositions in Panjabi.

I. /da/ 'of'

II. /ne/ 'instrumental or agentive'

/nu/ 'to - dative'

/tõ/ 'from, by'

III. /wɪc/ 'in'

/ənder/ 'inside'

/bár/ 'outside'

/utte/ ~ /te/ 'on'

/thəlle/ 'under'

/nal / 'with'

/kol / 'near'

/bɪna/ 'without'

/pɪcche/ 'after'

/əgge/ 'in front of'

/wel/ 'towards'

etc., etc.

Nouns and adjectives are inflected for the oblique case before postpositions. Type I /da/ 'of' is inflected for gender-number to agree with the noun phrase. Type II are uninflected. Type III have fused forms. Refer to 2.5. /wɪc/ 'in', /wɪcoõ/ 'from inside'; /bár/ 'outside', /bárõ/

'from outside'; /utte/ 'on', /uttõ/ 'from above'; /thelle/
'under', /thellıõ/ 'from below'.

3.3.2. There is one more type. This is the postposition
/de/ which optionally occurs between a noun phrase and a
type III postposition. This /de/ could be considered as
masculine-singular-oblique of the postposition /da/ 'of' or
in a separate category. One strong case in favor of its
being considered as masculine-singular-oblique of /da/ 'of'
is that in the case of first and second person pronouns
where we have fused forms of these postpositions, this /de/
takes the same alternant as /da/ 'of' does. For example:

/mæ/ 'I'

/mera/ 'mine'   masculine-singular-direct

/mere/   masculine-singular-oblique

and

/mere na1 / 'with me'

compare

/món de na1 /   'with Mohan'

3.3.3. /da/ 'of'

/da/ mas. sing., /de/ mas. pl.

/di/ fem. sing., /diã/ fem. pl. .

Examples:

(a)/óne pàrət dɪã pəhãṛã wɪc s̆r̆r wəs̆e , te óthe

rᴈ̃ ke mɪ́ t̲h̲ə̲n̲d̲ da te uc̆ãn̲a da nəs̆a lɪã̃ # / m-25

'It founded cities in the mountains of Bharat and while

living there   enjoyed the rain and the cool breeze and

the heights (of the mountains).'

/pàrət dɪã pəhãṛã/ 'the mountains of Bharat'

/dɪã/ obl mas pl to agree with /pəhãṛã/ obl. mas. pl. which is

followed by the postposition /wɪc/ 'in'

/t̲h̲ə̲n̲d̲ da/   'of cold'

/uc̆ãn̲a da/   'of the heights'

/da/ in both cases agrees with /nəs̆a/ 'enjoyment' mas. sing.

(b) /es gəl wɪc gorɪã̃ di məs̆ūri te kalɪã̃ di

məs̆ūri sã̃jiwal hən # /   m-25

'In this respect Mussourie of white man and Mussourie

of black man have something in common.'

/gorɪã̃ di məs̆ūri/   'Mussourie of white men'

/kalɪã̃ di məs̆ūri/   'Mussourie of black man'

/di/ fem. sing. agrees with /məs̆ūri/ fem. sing.

(c) /é pàl te kɪtɔ̃ da lóbi a weᵣɪa # / m-96

'This Bhai has come with extreme greed from somewhere
i.e. this Bhai is extremely greedy.'

/kɪtɔ̃ da/ 'of somewhere'

As in this case, /da/ may not be in construct with the
following noun or may not be followed by a noun at all.

(d) /ɪzzət nal apne kòr jan , tã ləkh wetti da # /
10-44

'If they go home respectfully, it is like earning
millions. (Idiomatic) i.e. nothing is better than going
home respectfully.'

/wetti da/ 'of earning i.e. earned , earns'

First and second person pronouns have fused forms of
this postposition with different alternants:

/mæ/	'I'	/me-r-a/	'mine'
/əsɪ/	'we'	/sa-ḍ-a/	'ours'
/tũ/	'you'(sing)'	/te-r-a/	'your'
/tusɪ/	'you'(pl)'	/tuà-ḍ-a/	'your'

The final /a/ in the fused forms is/masculine singular
_{the}
morpheme.

Third person singular has a fused form with /da/.

/ó/   'he, she, it'(far)'   /óda/   'his'

/é/   'he, she, it'(near)'   /éda/   'his'

/óda/ and /éda/ are phonologically one word each.

Third person plural construction with /da/ is two words.

/óna da/   'theirs'

/éna da/   'theirs'

3.3.4. /ne/

The postposition /ne/ marks the 'subject' or N_1 in a sentence. In the absence of N_2, the use of /ne/ is optional. N_1, however, will be inflected for oblique as if /ne/ were present. If N_2 occurs in a sentence, /ne/ is optional in the spoken language and is generally omitted but in the written variety, the use of /ne/ in a case like this is more frequent. If N_3 occurs in a sentence, /ne/ must follow N_1 on both levels - spoken and written. /ne/ never occurs in a sentence with a present or a future tense verb phrase. When /ne/ follows N_1, the verb phrase does not agree with it. For definitions of N_1, N_2 and N_3, refer to 3.10. With first and second person pronouns /ne/ can never be used. With the third person singular pronoun it is always used either as /ne/ or in its abbreviated form /n/, /on/ instead of /óne/.

With the third person plural pronouns, it is optional as with other nouns.

Examples:

(a) /jəgīr ne əkhɪa si // /   'Jagir said.'

    N_1 V

   Also possible

   /jəgīr akhɪa si // /

    N_1 V

(b) /mundɪã ne pherɪa si // /   "The boys caught'

    N_1 V

   Also possible

    /mundɪã pherɪa si // /

     N_1 V

   Note that the oblique form of /mundɪã/ does not change.

(c) /mõn ne sõn nu akhɪa // /   'Mohan told Sohan'

    N_1 N_2 V

   Also possible

    /mõn sõn nu akhɪa //

     N_1 N_2 V

(d) /nojwan nə bəcce wəl ap*n*ia bahã pəsãrĩa # /

   N₁   N₂   p   N₃   V   ss-99

'The young man streched his arms towards the child.'

＊ /nojwan bəcce wəl ap*n*ia bahã pəsãrĩã # /

3.3.5. /nu/

/nu/ marks N₂ in a sentence and serves the purpose of the dative case in traditional grammar. The verb phrase does not agree with a noun in construct with /nu/. The pronouns have fused forms with /nu/:

/mæ/	'I'	/məĩnu/
/əsĩ/	'we'	/sanu/
/tũ/	'you'(sing)'	/tenu/
/tusĩ/	'you'(pl)'	/tuãnu/
/ó/	'he'(far)'	/ónu/
/é/	'he '(near)'	/énu/
but		
/ó/	'they (far)'	/ón*n* nu/
/é/	'they (near)'	/éna nu/
and /kon/	'who'	/kɪnnu/
	in the written variety	/kɪs nu/

/jo/ 'who'   /jɪnnu/

    in the written variety /jɪs nu/.

Examples:

(a) /cəkɔ̃ri nu mə məsũri wekhɪa sɪ # / m-25

     N₂   N₁ Loc   V

    'I saw Chakori in Mussourie.'

(b) /munde nu ɪs gəl te kuj kɔr ləggɪ # / ss-132

     N₂   Pp   N₃   V

    'The boy was annoyed over this matter.'

(c) /mə apne mɪttər nu pucchɪa # / ss-60

    N₁ N₂   V

    'I asked my friend.'

3.3.6. /tõ/ 'from, by'

    With pronouns, /tõ/ has alternant fused forms:

    /mə̃/   'I'   /məithõ/

    /əsĩ/   'we'   /sathõ/

    /tũ/   'you (sing)' /təthõ/

    /tusĩ/ 'you (pl)'   /tuãthõ/

    /ó/   'he, she, it (far)' /ótõ/

        or   /us tõ/

/é/	'he, she, it (near)'	/étõ/	
		or	/ɪs tõ/
/ó/	'that'	/óthõ/	'from there'
/é/	'this'	/éthõ/	'from here'

Examples:

(a) /món tõ kuj na hoɪa ǂ / 'From Mohan nothing was done i.e. Mohan could not do anything.'

(b) /ó šærõ aɪa sɪ ǂ / 'He came from the city.'

(c) /on məïthõ pʊcchɪa ǂ / 'He asked me.'

(d) /on óna tõ səlá ləï ǂ / 'He got advice from him.'

(e) /óde kol so tõ zɪáda rʊpæ ne ǂ / 'He has more than a hundred rupees.'

(f) /óde kol so tõ kèt rʊpæ ne ǂ / 'He has less than a hundred rupees.'

(g) /ó ethará salá tõ pɪcchõ aɪa sɪ ǂ / 'He came after eighteen years.'

(h) /gərmɪa tõ pəïlá məsəm cəŋga hʊnda e ǂ / 'The weather is pleasant before the summer.'

(1) /éthõ kol clz na khəɾ # / 'Do not take anything

from here.'

3.3.7. Type III postpositions serve the same purpose as locatives in traditional grammar and in construct with nouns they form locative phrases (loc. p.).

The postposition /de/, or its alternants in case of pronouns, occur between a noun and a postposition of type III. This occurrence of /de/ is optional, except in the case of pronouns (excluding third person plural), on both levels - written and spoken.

Examples:

(a) /éna kuj salã wɪc us dl cɪnta kə̀ṭ gəɪ sl # /

ss-107

'In these few years, his worry was lessened.'

(b) /mere wɪc hor kuj gəl nəɪ # /

'There is nothing else in me.'

* /mæ wɪc hor kuj gəl nəɪ # /

(c) /šæ̃rã de wɪc lok beɾe ne # /

'There are too many people in the cities.'

Also possible and even preferred:

/šæ̃rã wɪc lok beɾe ne # /

(d) /mᴐ óna de nal̲ gɪã sã # /

    'I went with them.'

Also possible:

    /mᴐ óna nal̲ gɪã sã # /

(e) /kursi de utte bæṯho # /

    'Please sit on the chair.'

Also possible:

    /kursi utte bæṯho # /

But if /te/, the abbreviated form of /utte/ is used, then /de/ cannot be used.

    /kursi te bæṯho # /

    * /kursi de te bæṯho # /

3.4.1.   Connectives

<u>3.4.1.</u>   The following connectives occur in Panjabi:

/te/   'and'

/pər/   'but'

/na<u>l</u>e/   'also'

/kɪ/   'that'

/te/ and /pər/ occur after /#/ and /,/ in the spoken
        and
variety/only after /,/ in the written.

/kɪ/ occurs only after /,/ on both spoken and written

levels.

/na<u>l</u>e/ occurs only after /#/ on both spoken and

written levels.

When /te/ occurs between two singular nouns, these

nouns function as plural to agree with the verb phrase as

/móṉ   te   sóṉ   kər   geš   # /   'Mohan and Sohan went

home.'

<u>3.4.2.</u>   Most of the words which are considered connectives

or conjunctions in traditional grammar are recorded and

explained in 3.11. in the section entitled "Coordinates".

3.5. Emphasis

3.5.1. There are four ways to indicate emphasis in a Panjabi
sentence:

(a) by the change of the position of a phrase,

(b) by intonation,

(c) by emphatic particles,

(d) by repetition.

Intonation is independent of emphatic particles but
not vice versa i.e. a Panjabi sentence can be emphasized by
intonation alone but every emphatic particle must be accomp-
anied by a higher intonation pitch. The rules for the
function of intonation patterns with emphatic particles are
different in each case.

(a) The phrase to be emphasized occurs at the beginn-
ing of a sentence:

$$\overset{3}{/\text{món}} \quad \text{šər} \quad \overset{1}{\text{ɟɪā}} \quad \text{sɪ} \quad / \! /$$ 'Mohan went to the city.'

$$\overset{3}{/\text{šər}} \overset{3}{\underset{/\text{šər ɟɪā}}{}} \quad . \quad \overset{1}{\text{món}} \quad / \! /$$ 'Mohan went to the city.'

$$\overset{3}{/\text{ɟɪā}} \quad \text{sɪ} \quad \text{šər} \quad \overset{1}{\text{món}} \quad / \! /$$ 'Mohan went to the city.'

(b) Intonational emphasis is indicated by a higher intonation pitch:

$$\overset{3}{\text{/mə}} \ \overset{2}{\text{šər}} \ \overset{1}{\text{gɪā}} \ \text{sā} \ \# \ /$$ 'I went to the city.'

$$\overset{2}{\text{/mə}} \ \overset{3}{\text{šər}} \ \overset{1}{\text{gɪā}} \ \text{sā} \ \# \ /$$ 'I went to the city.'

$$\overset{2}{\text{/mə}} \ \text{šər} \ \overset{3}{\text{gɪā}} \ \overset{1}{\text{sā}} \ \# \ /$$ 'I went to the city.'

(c) The following emphatic particles occur in Panjabi:

/i/, /te/, /tā/, /aəí/, /pə̀la/, /khā/, /ju/, /hā/, /hæ/, /na/, /kɪ/, /kǎda/, /thóṛa/.

3.5.2.   /i/

/i/ is the most common emphatic particle in Panjabi. In the written variety, it is generally /hi/. It has the following functional characteristics:

(a) It can not occur at the beginning of a sentence.

(b) It emphasizes the phrase it follows. The emphasized phrase takes higher intonation pitch. This higher intonation pitch begins with the first member of the phrase and emphasizes the whole phrase:

$$\overset{3}{\text{/ekta}} \ \text{te} \ \text{sáñj} \ \text{i} \ \overset{2}{\text{mənukh}} \ \text{nu} \ \overset{1}{\text{nɪscint}} \ \text{bəṇa}$$
$$\text{N}_1 \qquad\qquad\quad \text{E} \ \text{N}_2 \qquad\quad \text{A·} \qquad \text{V}$$

səkde   ne   # /   gb-35

'Only unity and cooperation can make man fearless.'

(c) When /i/ and /te/ (another emphatic particle)
occur in the same sentence, /i/ is more emphatic than /te/:

```
  2    1     3           1
/bɛs  ji ,  təŋg  hi  te  a  gɪɛ  ⫽ /
 Voc         N₃   E   E   V
```

'Yes, he was really annoyed.'

(d) /i/ occurs/once in a sentence.
  only

(e) /i/ can not follow "K" words. For definition of
"K" words, refer to 3.12.

(f) /i/ may occur between a repeated noun for emphasis.
/te/ can not occur in this position. For example,

/pɛtte i pɛtte/ 'leaves .. emphasis .. leaves' i.e.
'lots of leaves!'

＊/pɛtte te pɛtte/

(g) If the verb phrase is to/emphasized with /i/, /i/
  be
must occur after V₁. /i/ can never occur after V₃:

```
  2      3    1
/munda  rɛ̃  i  gɪɛ  ⫽ /    'The boy was left behind.'
 N₁     V₁  E  V₂
```

(h) If the noun phrase is to be emphasized with /i/,
it must precede the verb phrase:

```
  3              2        1
/kurbɛ̃ni  hi  jiwən  da  pɛd  ə  ⫽ /
 N₁       E   N₃          V
```

'Sacrifice is the secret of life.'

(1)   According to Grahame Bailey, /i/ or /hi/, as
it is always in Hindi, means the following:

> When its force is emphatic, the emphasis may be
> laid either on the actual word immediately preced-
> ing, or on the fact as a whole. Sometimes the stress
> is laid on an act suggesting that it was just about
> to begin, or was just going on, or had just finished.
> Sometimes it means "only", "merely" or "at least",
> or again it may mean "finally", or "with difficulty";
> and lastly there is the use with "neither ... nor". [1]

Grahame Bailey's reference is about Hindi /hi/, but
since Hindi and Panjabi /hi/ are quite the same, it is
applicable to both even though it is useless for the
understanding of the function and even the meaning of /hi/.
The meanings are inferred not because of /hi/ but because
of the phrase it emphasizes. The significance of /hi/
or /i/ is functional and any attempt at semantic interpre-
tation is misleading and even incorrect. No grammar of
Hindi, Urdu or Panjabi to date has given the
structural description of any one of the emphatic particles.

---

1.   Bailey, T.G. Teach Yourself Hindustani , The English
Universities Press Ltd., London, 1950. p.124.

3.5.3. /i/, /te/, /tã/, /sei/, /pə̀la/.

(a) Only /tã/ and /pə̀la/ of this group can occur at the beginning of a sentence:

<pre>
 3   1   2   2   1
/tã pəi , zərũr munde nu pə́rn lao # / so-3ʌ
 E   Voc   Ad   N₂   V
</pre>

'Then (if that is the case), do send your son for

studies (to the school).'

<pre>
  2   2   1   2   3
/pə̀la je tera koi nəí , tũ jəmá kíde
 E   Crd Pp   N₃   Neg   N₁ Vp₁   Pp
        1
 ləí kərda ə̃ # / m-63
      Vp₂
</pre>

'Well, if you don't have anyone of your own, why

do you pile up all this money.'

(b) In non-initial position of a sentence, /te/ and /tã/ are in free variation. With the speakers of /májì/, /te/ is more common and with the speakers of /dứãbi/ and /mal̪wì/, /tã/ is more common:

<pre>
 3   2   i
/lokã di jíb te nəí na phəṛi jandi // / m2-31
 N₃   E   Neg E   V
</pre>

'After all you cannot hold people's tongue.'

Also possible:

<pre>
 3   2   1
/lokã di jíb tã nəí na phəṛi jandi // /
</pre>

(c) There can be more than one emphatic particle in one sentence:

```
 2                        3       1
/ɪstõ  əgge  tã  gəddɪ  ne  jaṉa  hɪ  nəɪ̃  sɪ  // /  ns-45
 Pp          E   N₁          V₁   E   Neg  V₃
```

'The train was not to go any further.'

```
 2             3           1
/tɪwĩã  dɪ  te  sunda  ɪ  koɪ  nəɪ̃  // /  ɪc-19
 Pp         E   V      E  A    Neg
```

'Nobody pays any attention to women.'

```
 2 3            2
/ó  jawe  te  səɪ̃  pəla  // /
 N₁ V     E   E    E
```

'He dare not go.'

(d) In non-initial position of a sentence, /ɪ/ precedes other emphatic particles if they occur in a sequence:

```
 2 3        2
/ó  aɪa  ɪ  səɪ̃  // /
 N₁ V    E  E
```

'So what, if he came (here)?'

```
 3        2    1
/móṉ  ɪ  tã  gɪã  sɪ  // /
 N₁   E  E   V
```

'Yes, it was Mohan who went.'

```
 3          2        1
/sãr  ɪ  te  ó  məɪnu  mɪl̲ɪa  sɪ  // /
 Pp   E  E   N₁ N₂     V
```

'Yes, it was in the city that I saw him.'

(e) When /to/ is not preceded by /i/, it emphasizes the phrase which carries the higher intonation pitch:

$$\overset{3}{/\text{món}} \quad \text{to} \quad \overset{2}{\text{gĩã}} \quad \text{si} \quad \overset{1}{\text{sãr}} \quad \# \, /$$
N₁   E   V   Pp

'Mohan went to the city.'

or

$$\overset{2}{/\text{món}} \quad \text{to} \quad \overset{3}{\text{gĩã}} \quad \text{si} \quad \overset{1}{\text{sãr}} \quad \# \, /$$

'Mohan went to the city.'

(f) /sef/ and /pèla/ generally emphasize the verb phrase and semantically indicate a sort of 'ultimatum' :

$$\overset{2}{/\text{ó}} \quad \overset{3}{\text{awe}} \quad \text{to} \quad \overset{2}{\text{sef}} \quad /\!/ \, /$$
N₁ V   E   E

'He dare not come.'

$$\overset{2}{/\text{ó}} \quad \overset{3}{\text{kere}} \quad \text{khã} \quad \overset{2}{\text{pèla}} \quad /\!/ \, /$$
N₁ V   E   E

'He dare not do it.'

(g) Whereas /te/ is generally preceded by /i/, /sef/ and /pèla/ are generally preceded by /to/ or /tã/, both in /máji/ and /malwi/.

$$\overset{2}{/\text{é}} \quad \overset{3}{\text{ena}} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{to} \quad \overset{1}{\text{si}} \quad \# \, /$$
N₁ A   E   E   V

'Yes, it was hardly this much.'

```
     2              3         2        2       1
/ó  mere  nal  awe  to  səí  ,  mːn  ónu  wəkháuŋga  ⫽ /
 N₁  Pp             V   E    E      N₁   N₂   V
```

'Let him come with me, I will show him.'

```
     2            3           1    2    3          1
/mːn  te  pòla  akhɪa  i  sɪ ,  ónu  neí  sɪ  jana  cáida  ⫽ /
 N₁   E   E     V₁     E  V₃    N₂   Neg  V₃  V₁    V₂
```

'Even if I happen to say this, he shouldn't have gone.'
(ed above "to")

(h) /səí/ and /pòla/ cannot occur in the same sentence.

(i) If /səí/ or /pòla/ occur at the end of a sentence, they are followed by /⫽⫽/:

```
  2  3        2
/ó  awe  te  səí ⫽⫽/
 N₁  V    E   E
```

"He dare not come.'

```
  3        2     2
/wekhã  khã  pòla ⫽⫽/
 V       E     E
```

'Let me see it.'

(j) /tã/ occurring at the beginning of a sentence functions like an emphatic connective and always carries high intonation pitch:

```
  3   2   1
/tã  kɪ  hoɪe  ⫽ /
 E   Ad  V
```

'So what?'

(k) Initial /tã/ may be immediately followed by /te/. In this case /tã te/ functions as one unit meaning something like 'so then':

$$\overset{2}{/\text{tã}} \quad \overset{3}{\text{te}} \quad \overset{1}{\text{on}} \quad \text{nof} \quad \text{sade} \quad \text{nal} \quad \text{jana} \quad \# \ /$$
E   E N_1 Neg   Pp   V

'So he won't go with us.'

A few more examples for /te/ and /tã/:

$$\overset{2}{/\text{cırı}} \quad \text{te} \quad \overset{3}{\text{bámni}} \quad \overset{1}{\text{hundi}} \quad \text{e} \quad \# \ / \quad \text{m2-17}$$
N_1 E N_h V

'The sparrow is Brahman. Isn't she?'

$$\overset{2}{/\text{peñj}} \quad \text{sət} \quad \text{te} \quad \overset{3}{\text{mæ}} \quad \text{wi} \quad \overset{1}{\text{wekhe}} \quad \text{si} \quad \# \ / \quad \text{m-105}$$
N_3 E N_1 Ad   V

'Even I saw some five or seven.'

$$\overset{2}{/\text{kərmo}} \quad \text{ne} \quad \overset{3}{\text{tı}} \quad \overset{1}{\text{wıáı}} \ , \quad \overset{2}{\text{tã}} \quad \overset{3}{\text{ethafã}} \quad \text{wérıã} \quad \text{di} \quad \overset{1}{\text{kərke}} \ /\!/$$
N_1 N_3 V   E   Pp   V

ic-19

'When, at last, Karmo had her daughter married,
she was eighteen years old.'

$$\overset{2}{/\text{rızək}} \quad \text{tã} \quad \text{rəb} \quad \text{ne} \quad \overset{3}{\text{rəj}} \quad \text{ke} \quad \overset{1}{\text{dıtta}} \quad \text{hoıa} \quad \text{e} \quad \# \ / \quad \text{ic-24}$$
N_3 E N_1 Vp_1 Vp_2

'God has given plenty of things.'

<u>3.5.4.</u> /khã/

/khã/ is colloquial and is rarely used in the written language. It functions very much like /sɛf/ and /pə̀la/. Whereas /sɛf/ and /pə̀la/ cannot occur in the same sentence, /pə̀la/ and /khã/ can, /khã/ preceding /pə̀la/.

```
  2   3    2
/tũ  jãwi  khã  // /      'You dare not go.'
```

```
  2   3         2
/tũ  jãwi  khã  pə̀la  // /    'You dare not go.'
```

The second sentence is slightly more emphatic than the first.

<u>3.5.5.</u> /ju/

/i/ and /ju/ have similar intonation patterns. The following sentences show semantic and functional contrast among /te/, /i/ and /ju/:

```
   3         2    1
/móṇ  te  šər  gɪã  e  # /
```

'(You are asking about Mohan) <u>Mohan</u> has gone to the city.'

Also possible
```
   2        3    1
/móṇ  te  šər  gɪã  e  # /
```

'(You are asking about Mohan) Mohan has gone to the <u>city</u>.'

This shift of intonation pattern is not possible in a sentence with /i/ or /ju/.

```
   3       2    1
/móṇ  i  šər  gɪã  e  # /
```

```
   3       2    1
/móṇ  i  šər  gɪã  e  # /
```

'Yes, <u>Mohan</u> has gone to the city.'

$$\overset{3}{/\text{món}} \ \ \text{ju} \ \ \overset{2}{\text{sãr}} \ \ \overset{1}{\text{giã}} \ \ \text{e} \ \ // \ /$$

'Since <u>Mohan</u> has gone to the city (why worry).'

As with /i/, the phrase preceding /ju/ takes higher

intonation pitch.

$$\overset{2}{/\text{ó}} \ \ \text{óthe} \ \ \overset{2}{\text{onda}} \ \ \text{janda} \ \ \overset{1}{\text{reínda}} \ \ \text{e} \ \ / \ \ \overset{2}{\text{pind}} \ \ \overset{3}{\text{lage}}$$

$$\text{ju} \ \ \overset{1}{\text{hoia}} \ \ // \ \ / \ \ \text{1c-33}$$

'He usually comes over there. After all, his village

is close by.'

3.5.6. /hã/

/hã/ occurs only at the beginning of a sentence and

is followed by /,/. Semantically it means something like

'of course, however'.

$$\overset{2\ 2}{/\text{hã}} \ , \ \overset{2}{\text{sema}} \ \text{pa} \ \text{ke} \ \overset{3.}{\text{dõa}} \ \text{da} \ \text{reng} \ \overset{1}{\text{ıkko}} \ \text{ho}$$

$$\text{janda} \ \text{e} \ // \ / \ \ \text{m-26}$$

'Of course, in due course both have the same color.'

$$\overset{2\ 2}{/\text{hã}} \ , \ \overset{2}{\text{sári}} \ \text{de} \ \overset{3}{\text{phul}} \ \text{her} \ \text{warí} \ \overset{1}{\text{wekhre}} \ \text{hunde} \ // \ / \ \text{m-121}$$

'However, the Sari had a different print every time.'

3.5.7. /hæ/

In the written language, /hæ/ is usually substituted for /e/ (V₃) of the spoken language. However, /hæ/ as emphatic particle, is used both in written and spoken Panjabi and cannot be substituted by /e/. As emphatic particle, /hæ/ can occur anywhere in the sentence but not interrupting phrase units. At the beginning of a sentence, /hæ/ precedes /te/; at any other place in a sentence, /te/ precedes /hæ/:

$$\overset{3}{/\text{hæ}}\quad \text{te}\quad \text{si}\quad \overset{2}{\text{ka\underline{n}a}}\quad,\quad \overset{2}{\text{per}}\quad \overset{2}{\text{be\underline{r}a}}\quad \overset{1}{\text{lɛk}}\quad \# \,/ \quad \text{m2-34}$$

'Even though he had only one eye, he was very intelligent.'

$$\overset{2}{/\acute{\text{o}}}\quad \overset{3}{\text{janda}}\quad \text{te}\quad \overset{2}{\text{hæ}}\quad /// $$

'Are you sure, he is going?'

$$\overset{3}{/\text{kerda}}\quad \text{te}\quad \acute{\text{o}}\quad \overset{2}{\text{hæ}}\quad ,\quad \overset{2}{\text{per}}\quad \overset{3}{\text{be\underline{n}da}}\quad \text{kuj}\quad \overset{1}{\text{nef}}\quad \# \,/ $$

'Even though he tries hard, he doesn't succeed.'

3.5.8. /na/

The emphatic /na/ 'no' is always preceded by a verb phrase. When it occurs at the end of a sentence, it is followed by ///. It is a kind of an echo question which does not necessarily require an answer. /na/ occurring after the negative particle /nef/ makes the negative more emphatic.

Examples:

```
 2      3           1              2  3       2
/je mæ tere i woṯ kód chəḏda , te cəŋga si na // /
```
'If I had set you right, it would have been much better,   #95
wouldn't it?'

```
 2 1     2      3                           2
/bəs , bebe gəllã i kərn jogi e na // / ic-23
```
'Bebe is good for nothing except talking. Isn't she?'

```
 3     2    1
/hæ na boṟa sóṉa # / ic-29
```
'Isn't he handsome?'

```
 3                      2          2
/ æs heṯṯi wale di gəl kərdi ẽ na // / m2-29
```
'Are you talking about this shopkeeper?'

3.5.9. /kɪ/

(a) Emphatic /kɪ/ always occurs finally, after verb
phrase.

(b) Compare it with /na/ which may or may not occur
sentence finally.

(c) Semantically, it means something like 'after all,
that's all'.

```
 2    3            2
/əsĭ dəršən i kərne ne kɪ // / m-29
```
'We just want to pay a visit, after all.'

$$\overset{2}{/}\text{tus} \overset{3}{\text{jana}} \text{ i a } \overset{2}{\text{kı}} \; // /$$

'All you want to do is to go, that's all.'

$$\overset{2}{/}\text{óna} \overset{3}{\text{ona}} \text{ i a } \overset{2}{\text{kı}} \; // /$$

'They will come (why bother?).'

$$\overset{2}{/}\text{óne} \overset{3}{\text{kıá}} \text{ si } \overset{2}{\text{kı}} \; // /$$

'He did say (so). Didn't he?'

3.5.10. /kád-a/

    (a) Occurs in a coordinate sentence. For the description of coordinate sentences, refer to 3.11.

    (b) Always precedes a verb phrase. Compare /kı/ and /na/ which always follow the verb phrase.

    (c) Inflected for gender-number.

Examples:

$$\overset{3}{/}\text{hetti} \text{ kádi } \overset{1}{\text{si}} , \overset{3}{\text{khan}} \overset{1}{\text{si}} \; \# / \quad \text{m2-26}$$

'That wasn't just a shop, that was a mine.'

$$\overset{3}{/}\text{admi} \text{ káda } \overset{1}{\text{si}} , \overset{3}{\text{de}} \overset{1}{\text{si}} \; \# /$$

'He wasn't just a man, he was a giant.'

$$\overset{2}{/}\text{mæ} \overset{3}{\text{gol}} \text{ kádi kor } \overset{1}{\text{belṭha}} , \overset{2}{\text{ó}} \text{ mere } \overset{3}{\text{gol}} \text{ i pæ } \overset{1}{\text{gıá}} /$$

'I just happened to say this and he was after me like anything.'

3.5.11. /thóra/

(a) Negatively emphasizes the sentence:

```
  3            1
/mæ  thóra  akhın  sı  #  /
```

'I didn't say. Did I?'

(b) Occurs in the frame Np + /thóra/ + Vp

(c) Inflected for gender-number:

```
  3            1
/ó  thóre  gəẽ  sən  #  /
```

'They didn't go. Did they?'

This inflection, however, is optional. We can also have:

```
  3            1
/ó  thóra  gəẽ  sən  #  /
```

(d) Like /1/, it emphasizes the preceding phrase with a high intonation pitch:

```
  3          2        1
/əaĭ  thóra  khédde  sā  othe  #  /
```

'We weren't playing there.'

3.5.12. Emphasis by repetition

Sometimes adjectives, adverbs and verbs are repeated for emphasis:

(a) /kala/ 'black'

/kala kala/ 'dark black'

/kalə kale beddəl/ 'dark black clouds'

(b) /jeldi/ 'quickly'

     /jeldi jeldi/ 'at once'

     /ó jeldi jeldi axa # / 'He came in a hurry.'

(c) /pèjda/ 'running'

     /pèjda pèjda/ 'running fast'

     /ó pèjda pèjda axa # / 'He came running.'

A verb can be repeated only in Vp_1. For the definition of Vp_1, refer to 3.9.

3.6. Negatives

There are three negative particles in Panjabi:
/ná/, /nəí/ and /na/.

/ná/ is nominal. For gender and number, it is construed feminine singular and is not inflected for for any other gender or number.

$$
\overset{2}{/\text{óne}}\ \overset{3}{\text{ná}}\ \overset{1}{\text{kìti}}\ \#\ /\qquad \text{'He said, no.'}
$$

/nəí/ and /na/ have the following functional characteristics:

(a) Only /nəí/ is used for a negative answer.

$$
\overset{2}{/\text{kì}}\ \overset{}{\text{ó}}\ \overset{3}{\text{gìã}}\ \overset{1}{\text{si}}\ \#\ /\qquad \text{'Did he go?'}
$$

$$
\overset{3}{/\text{nəí}}^{1}\ \#\ /\qquad\qquad \text{'No.'}
$$

(b) When /nəí/ occurs ^with a verb phrase, it is immediately followed by V_3, and V_1 follows V_3.

$$
\overset{2}{/\text{ó}}\ \overset{}{\underset{N_1}{\text{pìnd}}}\ \overset{}{\underset{\text{Loc}}{}}\ \overset{3}{\underset{\text{Neg}}{\text{nəí}}}\ \overset{}{\underset{V_3}{\text{si}}}\ \overset{1}{\underset{V_1}{\text{gìã}}}\ \#\ /\qquad \text{'He did not go home.'}
$$

For definitions of V_1 and V_3, refer to 3.9.

(c) /na/ occurring at the end of a sentence negatively emphasizes the sentence and the whole sentence functions as an echo question. In this position, /na/ is followed by /// /. For /na/ functioning as an emphatic, refer to 3.5.8.

3.7. Adverbs

Words which occur in the following test frames are considered adverbs:

I. /ó ... aɪa sɪ ∥ /   'He ... came.'

/hun̯e/	now
/ej/	today
/kəl/	tomorrow ~ yesterday
/persõ/	day-after-tomorrw ~ day-before-yesterday
/éthe/	here
/óthe/	there
/kodõ/	when
/jəldi/	quickly
/holi/	slowly
/kədi/	sometimes
/kɪwẽ/	how
/kɪõ/	why
/kɪddã/	how
/akhər/	after all
/mésã/	hardly

etc.,etc.

II. / ..., pher ki hoɪa ⫽ /   '...,then what?'

  /pə̀la/   well,

  /cəlo/   let it be,

  /cəŋga/   o.k.,

  /əccha/   all right,

  etc., etc.

III. /óne ... akhɪa əi ⫽ /   'He ... said.'

  /ki/   what

  /kədõ/   when

  /kɪwẽ/   how

  /kɪõ/   why

  /kɪtthe/   where

  /kɪddã/   how

IV. /óne ... kiti ⫽ /   'He ... did.'

  /bəs/   stop(ped)

  /khətəm/   finish(ed)

  /s̃uru/   begin (began)

  etc., etc.

In type I, /jəldi/,'quickly', /holi/ 'slowly',
/kədi/ 'sometimes', /jɪwẽ/ 'as', /mɛ́sã/ 'hardly' are
repeatable for emphasis.

/ó jəḷdi jəḷdi aɪa si # /   'He came very quickly.'

/kədi/ occurring by itself must be followed by some emphatic particle, generally /wi/ 'assertive', or /nəí/ 'negative'.

/pàwə̃/ cannot be immediately followed by /wi/ or /i/ emphatics.

Adverbs of type II are always immediately followdd by /,/. They can never be repeated.

Tpye III are all question markers and may be called "K" words since all of them begin with 'k'.

Type IV are always in construct with a verb phrase.

3.8. Noun Phrases

3.8.1. A typical Panjabi noun phrase is:

/ɪk bót cəŋga admi/   'a very good man'

A_1 A_2 A_3 N

The order A_1 + A_2 + A_3 is obligatory.

Besides this, there are the following noun phrase constructions

in Panjabi:

3.8.2. With the use of postpositions, mainly /da/ 'of':

(a) /hethã rəsõi wɪc, éna di pəlẽthi di tì ,
     Loc N_1

etharã salã di wɪdɪa , təbbər di roti
                         N_3

tɪãr kər rəhi si # /   ss-43
V
                                        eldest
'Below, in the kitchen, their/daughter, eighteen

years old Widya, was cooking dinner for the family.'

Noun phrases:

/éna di pəlẽthi di tì/
 N   p   N   p   N

  their of palethi of daughter

i.e. their daughter of palethi

'/pəlẽthi/ is a word for the first born child'

/oṯharā salā di wɪdɪa/
A   N   p   N

eighteen years of Widya

i.e. Widya, (of) eighteen years old or eighteen years old
Widya

/ṯebbər di roṯi/
 N   p   N

  family of dinner

i.e. dinner for the family

(b) /šápur de ɪlāke di pùri pà̀ wali retli
    N₁

    zemīn səwğr de canən wɪc cəmək rəí si ⫽ /
          Loc   V

    'The brown shaded sandy soil of the Shahpur area was

    shining in the morning light.'

Noun phrase:

    /šápur de ɪlāke di pùri pà̀ wali retli zemīn/
     N   p   N   p A   N   A   A   N

    Shahpur of area of brown shadeed   sandy soil

  i.e. the brown shaded sandy soil of the Shahpur area

(c) /us nu dadi benən da cao si ⫽ / ss-107
    N₂   N₃   V

    'She was eager to become a grandmother.'

Noun phrase:

    /dadi benən da cao/
     N   V   p   N
    grandmother to become of eagerness

    i.e. eagerness to become a grandmother

3.8.3. Noun phrase apposition

(a) /jədõ rupã , raje rani di tĩ , pòr jəwãn
    Crd   N₁   Nₕ

    ho gəĩ # / m-126
    V

    'When Rupan, the daughter of the king and queen,

    attained maturity -'

    /rupã , raje rani di tĩ/
     N   N   N   p   N

    Rupan   king queen of daughter

   i.e. Rupan, the daughter of the king and queen

(b) /həri síŋ di weddi nú , nənd kor , kuj
    N₁   Nₕ

    əjə̃i hi supãgi nú si # / s-41
                        V

    'The eldest daughter-in-law of Hari Singh, Nand Kaur,

    was such a fortunate daughter-in-law.'

    /həri síŋ di weddi nú , nənd kor/
     N   p   A   N   N

    Hari Singh of eldest daughter-in-law , Nand Kaur

   i.e. the eldest daughter-in-law of Hari Singh, Nand Kaur

3.8.4. with the use of connectives followed by the postposition /da/ before the last noun:

/pɪchle peñjá salã̃ dɪ ménet gəm te kəšt da
N₁

ɪwz mɪl jawe # /   ss-111
V

'May he get the reward of the last fifty years of hard work, worry and hardship.'

Noun phrase:

/pɪchle peñjá salã̃ dɪ ménet gəm te kəšt da ɪwz/
  A   A   N   p   N   N   C   N   p N

last fifty years of hardwork worry and hardship
of reward

i.e. the reward of the last fifty years of hardwork, worry and hardship

3.8.5. repetition of the same adjective for emphasis

(a) /here here buṭe/
      A   A   N

green green plants

i.e. deep green plants

(b) /é khuš hen , bót khuš , jɪker sunárɪ kɪrna
     N₁ N₄ V   A   N₄   Ad   N₄

cummɪa kə̃wel # /   gs-9

'She is happy, very happy, as the golden-rays-kissed Kamal.'

<u>3.8.6.</u> with a noun-noun compound

$$\text{/candi} \quad \text{kəmãn} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{tàr/}$$
     N   N   p   N

    silver bow   of   line

i.e. the line of silver-bow

<u>3.8.7.</u> with a noun-verb compound

$$\text{/sunàri} \quad \text{kɪrna} \quad \text{cummɪa} \quad \text{kõwəl/} \quad \text{gs-9}$$
    A   N   V   N

  golden   rays   kissed   Kamal

<u>3.8.8.</u> with several adjectives

$$\text{/duje} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{khɪãl} \quad \text{nal} \quad \text{pèrpur} \, , \quad \text{mɪtthe} \quad \text{muskande} \, ,$$
N$_1$

  gusse   tõ   bɪlkul   khali   hən   // /   gs-10
                                  V

'She is thoughtful of others, sweet, smiling, and entirely

without anger.'

Noun phrases:

(a) $\text{/duje} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{khɪãl} \quad \text{nal} \quad \text{pèrpur/}$
      A   p   N   p   A

  other   of   thought   with   filled

i.e. thoughtful of others

(b) $\text{/mɪtthe} \quad \text{muskande/}$
      A   A

  sweet   smiling

(c) /gusse tõ bɪlkul khalɪ/
     N   p   A   A

anger from absolute empty

i.e. entirely without anger

3.8.9. adjectives occurring after the construction N + V

/bəklố de wɪc ɪk choṇi hundi si , bərɪ wəḍḍi ⫽/ R
 Loc   N₁   V   A

'There was a cantonement in Bakloh, a very big one. (There

was a very big cantonement in Bakloh.)'

3.8.10. one adjective before /,/, others after /,/

(a) /dine di ma sun hoi kheṛi si , əkkhã khulliã
     N₁   Vp₁   Vp₂   A

te ləb bənd ⫽/ ss-88
A

'Dina's mother was standing senseless, open eyes and

closed lips. (Dina's mother, with open eyes and closed

lips, was standing there senseless.)'

(b) /bəlwənti sồṇi si , pə̀rɪa bədən , gora rəŋ ,
     N₁   N₄ V   A   A

ucca kəd , ṃoṭiã əkkhã , cəra məttha ⫽/ m2-151
A   A   A

'Balwanti was beautiful, (had a) well formed body,

(was of) fair color, tall in stature, (with) big eyes,

(and) broad forehead.'

<u>3.9.</u> Verb Phrases

3.9.1. A verb phrase in Panjabi may consist of one to three verbs. Not all verbs can occur in all the three positions in a verb phrase. If a verb phrase has three verbs in it, the first member will be called V_1, the second V_2 and the third V_3. For example, a typical Panjabi verb phrase is

$$/\text{pheṛɪa}\quad \text{gɪ̃ã}\quad \text{si}/\qquad \text{'was caught'}$$
$$V_1\qquad V_2\quad V_3$$

All verbs which can occur in the position of /pheṛɪa/ are V_1. All verbs which occur in the position of /gɪ̃ã/ are V_2 and the verbs which occur in the position of /si/ are V_3. Only the following verbs or 'auxiliaries' occur as V_3:

Imperfective

1st person	/ã̃/	'am'	/ã̃/	'are'
2nd person	/ẽ/	'are'	/o/	'are'
3rd person	/e/ ~ /a/	'is'	/ne/ ~ /a/	'are'

Perfective

1st person	/sã̃/	'was'	/sã̃/	'were'
2nd person	/sã̃/	'were'	/so/ ~ /so/	'were'
3rd person	/si/	'was'	/sən/	'were'

In the written variety, the third person singular imperfective is usually /hæ/, and the third person plural is /hən/.

All other verbs can occur as V_1 but only some of the V_1s can occur as V_2s. The criterion that determines the occurrence of V_1 as V_2 is entirely lexical. For further description of V_2s, refer to 3.9.6.

3.9.2. There can be two verb phrases in a sentence. These are called Vp_1 and Vp_2. V_3s can occur only in Vp_2. A verb phrase does not always have all three verbs or even two verbs. Any one of these verbs can occur alone or with other verbs. However, not all tense forms can occur in a given position. For example, future tense formation cannot occur as V_1 unless it occurs alone. Only infinitive, present and past tense forms can occur as V_2 in Vp_2. Present perfect and past perfect forms can occur only in Vp_1 and they always occur alone i.e. verb phrases by themselves. Lexically and formally the same verbs are repeated for emphasis only in Vp_1. Furthermore, only 'presentII', 'present perfect', infinitive', and 'obligatory' forms can be repeated. And if a sentence has Vp_1, it must have Vp_2 also but not vice versa.

3.9.3. When the negative /nef/ is in construct with a verb phrase consisting of V_1 V_3
(a) the sequence will be /nef/ V_3 V_1 as opposed to the normal sequence V_1 V_3 :

/ó giũ si # /   'He went!
N₁ V₁ V₃

/ó nəí si giũ # / 'He did not go.'
N₁ Neg V₃ V₁

(b)   only perfective V_3 can occur in a verb phrase in construct with /nəí/:

/ó janda si # /   'He was going.'
N₁ V₁ V₃

/ó nəí si janda # /   'He was not going.'
N₁ Neg V₃ V₁

  but

/ó janda a # /   'He is going.'
N₁ V₁ V₃

/ó nəí janda # /   'He is not going.'
N₁ Neg V₁

3.9.3.1. For coordination or balance, $V_1 V_2$ coordinate with /nəí/ + V_1 :

/ó cəla giũ # /   'He went away.'
N₁ V₁ V₂

/ó nəí janda # /   'He is not going.'
N₁ Neg V₁

3.9.4. There is a gender-number concord within a verb phrase. All those verb forms which inflect for gender-number agree with each other within a phrase. Furthermore, a verb phrase agrees with a noun phrase according to the rules discussed in the section on 'Sentence Concord' 3.10.

3.9.5. The following tables show the possible combinations of different types of verbs. Table I shows combinations (marked x) with imperfective or perfective V_3s, or with $/\phi/$, i.e. no V_3, or in subordinate position, i.e. these verbs occur only before a V_2 or in construct with some postposition. Table II shows the possible combinations of V_1s and V_2s. These possibilities are based only on tense inflections. There are several restrictions on stem combinations which are entirely lexically conditioned. The description of these restrictions does not come under the scope of this work. However, we have, in table III, a sample of the possible combinations with seven V_2s and a hundred V_1s.

Table I

	/a/	/si/	/ø/	subordinate
Present I	x		x	
Present II	x	x	x	
Present Perfect			x	
Past	x	x	x	
Past Perfect			x	
Future			x	
Imperative			x	
Polite Imperative			x	
Hortative			x	
Optative	x	x	x	
Infinitive	x	x	x	
Conditional Infinitive				x
Imperfect Infinitive				x
Obligatory				x

x is occurrence

Examples:

Present I + /a/

/mə jana ã // /   'I am going.'

Present I + ∅

/mə jana // /   'I am going.'

(Present I occurs only for first person singular and plural and second person singular.)

Present II + /a/

/mə janda ã // /   'I am going.'

Present II + /si/

/mə janda si // /   'I was going.'

Present II + ∅

/mə janda // /   'I am going.'

Present Perfect + ∅

/mə jandɪã i ónu kɪá si // / 'I asked him as
     N₁   Vp₁   E N₂ Vp₂
                                soon as I arrived.'

Past + /a/

/ó gɪã a // /   'He has gone.'

Past + /si/

/ó gɪã si // /   'He had gone.'

Past + ∅

/ó gɪã // /   'He went.'

Past Perfect + ∅

/ónu gɪã nu kɪnna cɪr ho gɪã // / 'It is long since
   N₂ Vp₁ p   Ad   Vp₂   he left.'

Future + ∅

/ó jáega ∦ /   'He will go.'

Imperative + ∅

/óthe já ∦ /   'Go there.'

Polite Imperative + ∅

/óthe jaĭ ∦ /   'Please go there.'

Hortative + ∅

/mæ jawã // /   'May I go.'

Optative + /a/

/ẽwe jaida a ∦ /   'This is how (you) should go.'

Optative + /si/

/ẽwe jaida si ∦ /   'This is how (we) used to go.'

Optative + ∅

/ẽwe jaida ∦ /   'This is how (you) should go.'

Infinitive + /a/

/mæ jana ã ∦ /   'I have to go.'

Infinitive + /si/

/mæ jana si ∦ /   'I had to go.'

Infinitive + ∅

/mæ jana ∦ /   'I am going.'

Conditional Infinitive in subordinate position

/ó jan legga si ∦ /   'He was about to go.'

Imperfect Infinitive in subordinate position

/ó jaṉo na rǽ səkɪa ǁ /   'He could not help going!

Obligatory in subordinate position

/óne phəɹ lɪᾶ ǁ /   'He caught (him).'

Table II

V_1 \ V_2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Present I														
2. Present II			x	x		x	x	x	x				x	
3. Present Perfect			x								x			
4. Past		x		x		x	x	x	x		x			
5. Past Perfect														
6. Future														
7. Imperative														
8. Polite Imp														
9. Hortative														
10. Optative														
11. Infinitive		x		x							x			
12. Conditional Inf	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
13. Imperfect Inf														x
14. Obligatory	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

x is occurrence

Examples:

Present II + Past

/ó turda giā // /   'He went on foot.'

Present II + Future

/ó turda jáega // /   'He will go on foot.'

Present II + Imperative

/kərda já // /   'Go on doing.'

Present II + Polite Imperative

/kərda jaī // /   'Please go on doing.'

Present II + Hortative

/mə kərda jawā /// /   'May I go on doing.'

Present II + Imperfect Infinitive

/ó ono dərda si // /   'He was afraid to come.'

Present Perfect + Present Perfect

/óne ondɪā ondɪā kɪá // / 'He told (us) on the way.'

Present Perfect + Infinitive

/turdɪā jana thik nof // / 'It is not good to walk.'

Past + Present II

/ó nəssɪa janda si // /   'He was running.'

Past + Past

/ó nəssɪa aɪa // /   'He came running.'

Past + Future

/ó nəssɪa jáega // /   'He will go running.'

Past + Imperative

/nəssɪa jǎ # /   'Run.'   .'

Past + Hortative

/tʊrɪa jawã // /   'May I walk.'

Past + Infinitive

/óne tʊrɪa jana si # / 'He would have kept on
                              walking.'

Infinitive + Present II

/ónu jana pəɪnda si # / 'He had to go(in the past).'
                              (He used to go under pressure)

Infinitive + Past

/ónu kərna pɪã # /   'He had to do.'

Infinitive + Infinitive

/ónu jana pəna a # /   'He will have to go.'

Conditional Infinitive + Past

/ónu jan ləggɪã pəta ləgga # /

              'He came to know only when he was leaving.'

Conditional Infinitive + Future

/ó kəl kərn lə́ggega # / 'He will start tomorrow.'

Conditional Infinitive + Imperative

/khə́dən jǎ # /   'Go (and) play.'

Conditional Infinitive + Polite Imperative

/ə́dər aɪ # /   'Please come here.'

Conditional Infinitive + Hortative

/mæ khédən jawã // /   'May I go (and) play.'

Conditional Infinitive + Optative

/estrã nəí khédən jaida # /   'You shouldn't go to
play like this.'

Conditional Infinitive + Infinitive

/mæ khédən jana # /   'I have to go (and) play.'

Conditional Infinitive + Conditional Infinitive

/khédən jan da ki dər a # /

'There is no harm in going out to play.'

Imperfect Infinitive + Obligatory

/ó khédno ræ gɪã # /   'He cannot play any more.'

Obligatory + Present I

/mæ kər ləína ã # /   'I will do it.'

Obligatory + Present II

/ó kər ləínda a # /   'He can do it.'

Obligatory + Past

/óne kər lɪã # /   'He has done it.'

Obligatory + Future

/ó kər leéga # /   'He will do it.'

Obligatory + Imperative

/kər læ # /   'Do it.'

Obligatory + Polite Imperative

/kər ləí # /   'Please do it.'

Obligatory + Hortative

    /mɯ kər ləwã ///   'May I do it.'

Obligatory + Optative

    /əstrã kər ləɪda a # /   'This is how it is done.'

Obligatory + Infinitive

    /mɯ kər lɯna ã # /   'I will do it.'

Obligatory + Conditional Infinitive

    /éthõ tur pɯn da koi dər nəɪ # /
                                    leaving
        'There is no harm in/this place.'

Obligatory + Imperfect Infinitive

    /tur pɯno hər ki coŋga a # /

        'What is better than leaving this place?'

Obligatory + Obligatory

    /énu nəp kʉ̀t̪ ke rəkkho # / 'Please keep it very

                                     carefully.'

<u>3.9.6.</u>　There are two types of V_2s.　Type I are those V_2s which can occur with almost any V_1.　The meanings of these V_2s are easily definable.　Some of these V_2s are the following:

/sekna/　'to be able to'

　　/mæ é kem ker sekda ã ǁ /　　'I can do this work.'

/legna/ 'to begin'

　　/mæ é kem kern legga ã ǁ /　　'I am going to begin
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　this work.'

/hona/　'to be' indicates 'used to'

　　/mæ é kem kerda hunda sã ǁ / 'I used to do this
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　work.'

/pæna/　'to lie' indicates 'to have to'

　　/meɪnu é kem kerna pæna ǁ / 'I will have to do this
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　work.'

/ręna/　'to be, to live' indicates 'to continue'

　　/mæ é kem kerda rıã ǁ /　　'I went on doing this
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　work.'

/bæna/　'to sit' indicates 'to finish' or to have
　　happened to do'

　　/mæ é kem ker beṭha ǁ /　　'I happened to do this
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　work.'

/kərna/ 'to do' indicates the taking place of whatever
      action is implied by V_1

   /mæ óthe bæṭhia kərda sæ̃ #/   'I used to sit there.'
/ləṇa/ 'to take' indicates 'to finish'

   /mæ é kəm kər liæ # /   'I have done this work.'

<u>3.9.6.1.</u> Type II are those V_2s whose occurrence is lexically
conditioned. These V_2s serve as emphatics. In table III,
we have shown possible combinations of seven of these V_2s
with a hundred V_1s. The occurrences are marked with "x".
These V_2s are:

        /deṇa/   'to give'

        /chəḏḏna/ 'to leave'

        /jaṇa/   'to go'

        /poṇa/   'to put'

        /suṭna/   'to throw'

        /rəkkhṇa/ 'to keep'

        /kə̀ṭṇa/   'to force'

    The preliminary meanings of these V_2s are of no signifi-
cance. As V_2s they are merely emphatics.

Table III

		/dé/	/chəd/	/ʃá/	/po/	/su̯/	/rəkh/	/kə̀t/
/uṇ/	'knit'	x	x			x	x	
/uk/	'miss'			x				
/ud/	'fly			x	x			
/udɪk/	'wait'		x	x				
/uṛ/	'sprout'		x	x	**x**			
/uth/	'stand'		x	x	**x**			
/akh/	'say'	x	x	x			x	
/pur/	'fill'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/púñj/	'wipe'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/po/	'lie'							
/pòn/	'break'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/pi/	'drink	x	x	x		x	x	x
/pùn/	'roast'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/pùl/	'forget'		x	x				
/pí/	'grind'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/tor/	'break'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/tor/	'swim'		x	x	**x**			
/taṛ/	'snub'	x	x	x			x	
/tṹ/	'pull'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/ta/	'heat'	x	x	x			x	

		/dé/	/chod/	/já/	/po/	/sut/	/rekh/	/kòt/
/tòk/	'push'	x	x	x	x	x	x	
/tel/	'fry'	x	x	x			x	
/tan/	'spread'	x	x	x			x	
/tol/	'weigh'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/ku/	'speak'				x			
/kutər/	'cut'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/kos/	'tighten'	x	x	x			x	
/kùr/	'rebuke'		x					
/kòl/	'send'	x	x	x		x		
/ké/	'say'	x	x	x		x		
/koj/	'cover'	x	x	x			x	
/ker/	'do'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/kár/	'boil'	x	x	x			x	
/ker/	'pour'	x	x	x				
/kut/	'beat'	x	x	x		x		x
/kòr/	'chisel'	x	x	x		x	x	
/kòl/	'mix'	x	x	x		x	x	
/kuc/	'brush'	x	x	x		x	x	
/bol/	'speak'	x	x	x	x			
/bij/	'sow'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/bəc/	'careful'			x	x			
/bəŋ/	'be'		x	x	x			

		/dé/	/chəd/	/já/	/po/	/sut/	/rəkh/	/kət/
/bə̃/	'sit'		x	x				
/boc/	'catch'			x				
/bal/	'burn'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/dé/	'give'		x	x			x	
/dəl/	'grind'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/dəs/	'tell'	x	x	x				
/dol/	'waver'			x	x			
/dob/	'drown'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/dɪg/	'fall'				x			
/dəs/	'sting'			x				
/dər/	'fear'			x	x			
/dək/	'stop'	x	x	x			x	
/dat/	'snub'	x	x	x			x	
/jokh/	'weigh'	x	x	x		x		
/jo/	'hitch'	x	x	x			x	
/jəp/	'recite'		x	x			x	
/jor/	'join'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/jac/	'examine'	x	x	x			x	
/jag/	'wake'				x			
/jəg/	'lighten'			x	x			
/já/	'go'		x		x			

		/dé/	/ched/	/já/	/po/	/sut/	/rekh/	/kæt/
/jan/	'know'		x					
/jər/	'bear'	x	x	x				
/jɪr/	'absorb'			x				
/jɪt/	'win'	x	x	x		x	x	
/gṍ/	'sing'	x	x	x				
/tep/	'jump'	x	x	x	x			
/tà/	'demolish'	x	x	x		x		x
/tàl/	'melt'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/tò/	'carry'	x	x	x		x		x
/tuk/	'cut'	x	x	x		x		x
/tal/	'evade'	x	x	x		x	x	
/tɪk/	'rest'		x	x	x			
/cup/	'suck'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/cùr/	'grieve'		x	x	x			
/càr/	'sweep'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/càk/	'peep'	x	x	x				
/cès/	'rub'	x	x	x				
/cand/	'sharpen'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/cər/	'graze'		x	x		x		x
/co/	'milk'	x	x	x	x			x
/cɪk/	'cry'		x	x	x			

		/dé/	/chod/	/já/	/po/	/sut/	/rəkh/	/kòt/
/cób/	'pierce'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/cug/	'peck'	x	x	x				x
/cèl/	'suffer'	x	x	x				
/cùl/	'swing'		x	x	x			
/còk/	'hesitate'			x				
/pher/	'move'	x	x	x		x		x
/phuk/	'burn'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/thuk/	'spit'	x	x	x		x		
/thirk/	'slip'			x	x			
/thok/	'fix'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/thek/	'print'	x	x	x		x	x	x
/chil/	'peal'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
/cher/	'tease'	x	x	x				
/khá/	'eat'	x	x	x				
/so/	'sleep'	x	x	x				
/sun/	'hear'	x	x	x	x		x	
Total Occurrences		68	85	92	26	42	47	33

$V_1 = 100$

3.9.7. Besides combinations of different types of verbs, there are, in Panjabi, adjective-verb combinations and noun-verb combinations. The verbs which are in construct with adjectives and nouns are from the V_2s already discussed. The most common verbs in these constructions are /kərna/ 'to do, /dena/ 'to give' and /ləna/ 'to take'. These combinations are lexically conditioned.

Examples:

/kərna/   /piãr kərna/
            love   do   i.e. to love

            /yad kərna/
            remember do   i.e. to remember

/dena/   /widia deni/
            education give   i.e. to educate

            /tòkha dena/
            deceit   give   i.e. to deceive

/ləna/   /akh ləna/
            say   take   i.e. to say

            /wá ləna/
            plowing take   i.e. to plow

These phrases are called 'Conjuct Verbs' by Grahame Bailey.[1]

Bailey, op. cit. p.79.

3.10. Sentence Concord

3.10.1. There are four types of noun-verb concords:

I. Where Vp agrees with N_1 in gender-number:

$$N_1 + (N_2 + nu) + V$$

N_2 may or may not occur and also when it does occur, /nu/ may or may not follow it.

II. Where V_p agrees with N_3 :

(a) $N_1 + ne + (N_3) + V$

(b) $N_1 + ne + (N_2 + nu) + N_3 + V$

The verb phrase agrees with N_3 which follows N_1 or with N_3 which the verb phrase refers to. This N_3 may be in a previous sentence. For further explanation of inter-sentence relationships, refer to 3.11.

III. Where Vp agrees with both N_1 and N_4 :

$$N_1 + N_4 + V$$

IV. Where there is no noun-verb agreement; the Vp in this type is always 'perfective':

$$N_1 + ne + (N_2 + nu) + V$$

3.10.2. The nouns which occur in the following test frame in the position of /són/ are N_1, which occur in the position of /món/ are N_2, and which occur in the position of /pɪálɪ/ are N_3:

/són ne món nu pɪɛ̃lɪ dɪttɪ ǂ /

N_1 N_2 N_3 V

'Sohan gave Mohan a cup.'

The nouns which occur in the following test frame in the position of /cəŋga admɪ/ are N_4 :

/són cəŋga admɪ e ǂ /

N_1 N_4 V

'Sohan is a good man.'

3.10.3. Masculine plural forms are used for masculine and feminine singulars to show respect. This is only semantic differentiation. There is no change in sentence concord patterns.

3.10.4. Type I

Pattern Sentences

/món gɪɛ̃ ǂ /   'Mohan went.'
N_1 V

/món šə̃r gɪɛ̃ ǂ /   'Mohan went to the city.'
N_1 Loc   V

/món pərsõ šə̃r gɪɛ̃ sɪ ǂ /   'Mohan went to the city
N_1 Ad   Loc   V   day-before-yesterday.'

/món sowãre yarã woje phərıa gıã sı // /
N₁   Ad   V

'Mohan was caught at eleven'o clock in the morning.'

/món məInu mılıa // /   'Mohan met me.'
N₁   N₂   V

Examples:

1. /bımla ıs dəran wıc luk chıp ke des de
   N₁   Pp   Vp₁   Pp

   ık kone tõ duje kone wıc phırdı rəí // / ss-193
          Pp   Vp₂

'Bımla, during this period moved about secretly from

one end of the country to the other.'

2. /nəwembər unnı sə ethárã wıc , joŋg de
   Pp   Pp

   zəmãne tõ pıcchõ , ık bərı weddı bımãri poĩ // /
                      N₁   V
                                              s-93

'In November 1918, after the war was over, there

was a big epidemic.'

3. /ó apne bəcoıã dıã ãərãrtã nu pəsənd kərdı sı // /
   N₁ N₂   V
                                              s-84

'She liked the mischievious acts of her children.'

4.　　/ó uḏ ke apṇe pɪõ de kə̀r bəlãspur ，jo
　　　N₁　Vp₁　　　Loc　　　　　　　　　　Crd

　　　lódɪabad de zíle wɪc sɪ ，puj jaṇa oóndɪ sɪ ∦ /
　　　Pp　　　　　　　　　V　　Vp₂

'She wanted to fly over to her parents' home which was

in Belaspur in the district of Lodhiabad.'

5.　　/barã salã da penna bəzãr wɪccõ khéḏ məl
　　　N₁　　　　　　　　　Pp　　　Vp₁

　　　ke thəkkɪa aɪa ∦ / ss-45
　　　Vp₂

'Twelve year old Panna came with a tired body after

playing in the bazar.'

6.　　/rəb ɪtnɪa sədɪã tõ kərda aɪa hɛ ∦ / ss-139
　　　N₁　Pp　　　　　　　V

'God has been doing this for centuries.'

7.　　/rəbbɪ cokkər te cə́ṟɪ kʊdret sundərta wɪc
　　　N₁　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Pp

　　　tə̀l rəí hɛ ∦ / g-120
　　　V

'Nature, riding on the divine wheel, is moulding

herself into eternal beauty.'

8.　　/sóṇe menŨkh dɪ ɪntzar wɪc zemĩn əsmãn
　　　Pp　　　　　　　　　　　　N₁

　　　pərkərma kor reé hən ∦ / g-123
　　　N-V

'The earth and the sky are circumambulating, waiting
for the arrival of the "beautiful"(super) man.'

9.   /zɪndg̣i di khéd̠ jiundi ed̠ɔlta məng̣di hæ # / g-27
         N_1 N_2 V

'The game of life demands living stability.'

10.   /sóne ɪnsan de sóne hɪrde nalɔ̃ koi són̠i ciz
        N_1

       na wekhi na soci g̣əĭ hæ # / g-117
       Neg V   Neg

'A more beautiful thing than a keen mind of a graceful
man is neither seen nor thought of.'

11.   /hʊn mʊnšĭ da pətrĭa wi sari umər kuãrə.
       Ad N_1 Ad   Ad   N-V

       hi reég̣a # /   m2-37
       E

'Now, Munshi's nephew will remain a bachelor all his life.'

12.   /sad̠i kɪsmət wi kɪse dɪn pəlt̠a kháegi # / s-131
       N_1 Ad   Ad   N-V

'Maybe our fate will also change someday.'

13.   /pətni g̣usəl khane kəpṟe tòn cəli g̣əĭ # / m2-19
        N_1 Loc Vp_1 Vp_2

'The wife went to the bathroom to wash clothes.'

14. /óna wic rəle hoe raja sáb de kuj dəru
    N₁

    joé wotər wi sən // / ss-151
            Ad   V

'Gathered among them were some frightened voters of

Raja Sahib.'

15. /meri nastək ruci moInu apni ma tõ mıll hə // /
    N₁   N₂   Pp   V
                                                s-77

'I received my atheistic tendency from my mother.'

3.10.5. Type II

Pattern Sentences

    /món ne roti khádi // /   'Mohan ate bread.'
    N₁   N₃   V

    /món ne són nu roti dıtti // / 'Mohan gave Sohan
    N₁   N₂   N₃ V   bread.'

Examples:

1. /us admi ne pasa pərtıa // / ss-83
   N₁   N₃   V

'That man changed his side.'

2. /bazar wıc hor lokã ne təriã mariã // / da-58
   Pp   N₁   N₃   V

'The people in the bazar clapped (in disapproval).'

3.   /babuani   ne   sara   kòr   nɔkɔr   de   howãle   kita
        N₁   N₃   Pp   V

       hoɪa   si   # / da-36

       'Babuani had left her home in care of the servant.'

4.   /hušnãk   siŋ   ne   nɪkkiã   nɪkkiã   tɪãriã   apni
        N₁   N₃

       pæn   de   wɪã   diã   šuru   kɔr   dɪttiã   # /   da-91
                            V

       'Hushnak Singh started preparing things for his sister's

wedding.'

5.   /pòrtheri   ne   ɪk   dɪn   jogiã   di   loggi   mejlos
        N₁   Ad   Pp

       wɪc   bɪnɔ   kiti   # /   wa-132
            N₃   V

       'One day, in a meeting of the Yogis, Bharthari made

a request.'

6.   /dine   nu   rɔb   ne   ɪk   rup   neí   si   dɪtta   # /   ss-92
        N₂   N₁   N₃   Neg   V₃   V₁

       'God had not blessed Dina with handsomeness.'

7.   /ɪk   dɪn   mastɔr   ne   dine   nu   do   tɪn   cɔpãrã
        Ad   N₁   N₂   N₃

       thok   mariã   # /   ss-91
       V

       'One day, the master slapped Dina a couple of times.'

8. /óne te sətgur ne canna pa ke óna di əsli
   Pp   N$_1$ N-Vp$_1$ N$_3$

   kimət kur dɪkha dɪtti # / wa-219
        A   V

'The Satguru brought light to them and made them

realize their real worth.'

9. /hushnək sɪŋ ne é khəbər apne dostã nu dəssi # /
   N$_1$ N$_3$ N$_2$ V
                                         da-90

'Hushnak Singh told this thing to all his friends.'

10. /akhər sɪri guru ji ne sarɪã te bɪjɛ pai # /
   Ad   N$_1$ Pp   N$_3$ V
                                       wa-132

'At the end Siri Guru Ji won over everyone.'

11. /munší raj sɪŋ nal us dɪn tõ bád səworn sɪŋ
   Pp   Pp   N$_1$

   ne zobãn sáñji nəí kiti # / ns-100
      N$_3$ A-V

'Since that day Sawarn Singh has never talked to Munshi

Raj Singh.'

12. /gargi tõ məgrõ gurdɪal sɪŋ khosla ne pəñjabi
   Pp   N$_1$ Pp

   rəŋg moñc de wɪkãs wɪc səb tõ wód hɪssa paɪa # /
                       N$_3$ V
                                        p-23
'After Gargi, Gurdial Singh Khosla contributed most

to the Panjabi stage.'

3.10.6. Type III

Pattern Sentences

/món bót cəŋga munda e # /
N₁   N∆   V

'Mohan is a very good boy.'

/pəliã wáiã poĩã ne # /
N₁   N∆   V

'The fields are plowed.'

Examples:

1. /jənta wi cəŋgi rəŋ meño lei utãwli si # / p-22
    N₁   Ad Pp   N∆   V

    'The public was also eager for a better stage.'

2. /són ena pəra nəí # /
    N₁   N∆   Neg

    'Sohan isn't that bad.'

3. /nukkər wala məkãn bəra ucca e # /
    N₁   N∆   V

    'The building at the corner is very tall.'

4. /ó búdda admi bót siãna e # /
    N₁   N∆   V

    'That old man is very wise.'

5. /wokil bəre tòkhe baz hunde ne # /
    N₁   N∆   V

    'The lawyers are very deceiving people.'

3.10.7. Type IV

Pattern Sentences

/móṉ ne akhɪa ǁ /
　N₁　　 V

'Mohan said -'

/móṉ ne sóṉ nu dəssɪa # /
　N₁　　 N₂　　 V

'Mohan told Sohan -'

Examples:

1. /šam sundər ne kə̀r de sare kəm nu səmbàl lɪá ǁ/
　　N₁　　　　　 　N₂　　　　　　 V
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 da-32

'Sham Sundar took care of everything at home.'

2. /babe ne gəl pher ke kɪá ǁ / ss-125
　　N₁　　 N-Vp₁　　 Vp₂

'Changing the topic, Baba said -'

3. /us ne əŋgrèzi wɪdɪa nu pɪnd na wəṟn dɪtta ǁ /
　　N₁　 N₂　　　　　　 Loc Neg V
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 ss-91

'He did not let British education enter the village.'

4. /us ne dusre əsɪl kukkəṟ nu mar mar ke
　　N₁　 N₂　　　　　　　 Vp₁

pəjà dɪtta # / ss-90
Vp₂

'He beat the other chicken badly.'

5. /šam sundər nu əsĩ nokər kədi wi nəĩ səmjɪa # /
    N₂   N₁   A   Ad   Neg V

                                                    da-32

'We have never treated Sham Sundar as a servant.'

6. /ɪs terã sare lokã nu babe ne tarɪa # / wa-74
    Ad   N₂   N₁   V

'Thus Baba saved all the people.'

7. /babe ne jande bújde pucchɪa # / ss-122
    N₁   Vp₁   Vp₂

'Baba deliberately asked him -'

3.11. Coordinates and Coordination

3.11.1. There are a number of coordinates in Panjabi (refer to 'correlatives' 2.22.). The first member of a coordinate pair occurs before /,/, the second immediately following /,/. Besides these special coordinates like /...jədõ ..., tədõ .../ 'when...then ...', there is general **coordination** or **balance** of noun and verb phrases in a sentence with intervening /,/. For example, if before /,/, the verb phrase consists of two verbs, the verb phrase after /,/ will also have two verbs. Another method of coordination is to eliminate the verb phrase after /,/, if the sentence after /,/ refers to semantically the same phrase. In other words, semantically identical verb phrase is not repeated after /,/. None of these rules is absolute, but their observance is common to all Panjabi writers.

Examples: no repetition

/je ó ja səkda si ,

tã tũ wi (ja səkda si) / / exact parallel
deleted

'If he could go, you (could go) too.'

Coordination with similar phrase structure

/tusĩ ede i juãn o , jeda tuãda wiswaš ,

te ede i búdde , jeda tuãda šoŋka / / gb-113

'You are young to the extent you have confidence, and old to the extent you have doubts.'

/jére dın ó cəprəsı dı terīmət həsptāl wıc rəf ,
Ad   N₁   Loc   V

us nu baklā wərgı khurāk mıldı rəf ,
N₂   Pp   N₃   V

baklā waŋ ódlā cadrā bədəldlā rəfā ,
Pp   N₃   V

baklā waŋ óde bədce nal lad hunde rəé / d-83
Pp   Pp   N₃   V
                                          the
'All those days when the wife of/peon was in the hospital,

she was given food like others, her bed-sheets were changed

like others',(and) her children were loved like others'.'

/jədō sekhō ne conwiā pəñjābı kəhānıa də səŋgrə chapna
Crd N₁   N₃   V

tā mə pəñjābı wıc pəlı kəhānı merı nanı
Crd N₁   Pp   N₃

kıte ,
V

lıkhı / /   m-19
V

'When Sekhon decided to publish a selection of Panjabi short-

stories, I wrote my first story in Panjabi, "My Grandmother".'

Balance with eliminated verb phrase before and after /,/;
this kind of balance or coordination is found only in proverbs
and idiomatic Panjabi:

/jéi ma ,

ujéa puttor # /   m-151

'As (was) the mother, so (was) the son.'

3.11.2. Besides this coordination within a sentence, there
is also the coordination of sentences in a paragraph. For
example, the noun phrase which agrees with the verb phrase
is not repeated in the subsequent sentences until there is
a change of the noun phrase itself. For examples of this
type of noun phrase coordination in a paragraph, refer to
3.11.4. For general coordination in a paragraph, refer to
3.11.5. For coordination between two paragraphs, refer to
3.11.6.

3.11.3. Examples of coordinates and coordination within
a sentence:

1.   /jo ..., so .../   'who ..., he ...'

/jo phaṛia gia ,

so cor # /   m-123

'He who is caught is a thief.'

2.　　/... jo ..., ó .../　　'...which ..., that ...'

　　/məūju majre da jo lal kə̀gra si ,

　　　　　　　　　　　ó

　　indər perəsth di　　lal eŋgi si ∦ / m-119

　'What was "red skirt" in Mauju Majra, was "red jacket"

in Indar Parasth.'

3.　　/jéra ..., ó .../　　'whoever ..., that ...'

　　/jéra nirpò nəſ ,

　　ó　　ədõl　nəſ ∦ / gb-31

　'He whò is not fearless is not stable.'

4.　　/je ..., tã̀ .../　　'if ... then'

　　/pər je mənukh cáe , tã̀ sari dunia nu ruhāni
　　　C　Crd N₁　　　V　　Crd N₂　　　　　N₃

　　bəna　səkda e ∦ / gb-126
　　V

　　'But if man wills, he can make this whole world a spiritual

dwelling.'

5.　　/...je ..., jã̀ ..., tã̀ tã̀ .../ 'if ... or ... then'

　　/pèla je pəsu dúd denda howe ,

　　　jã̀　　　həl wónda howe ,

　　　tã̀ tã̀　　　gəl hoi ∦ / m-47

　'Of course, if the cattle give milk or are useful for

　　　　　　　　　　a
plowing, then it is/different matter.'

6. /jéi ..., ujéa .../ 'as ... so'

/jéi   ma ,

ujéa   putter # / m-151

'As(was) the mother, so (was) the son.'

7. /jɪnna ..., ona .../ 'as much ...that much'

/jɪnna   wód   líkhaŋge ,

one   wód pɪ̃se milŋge # / m-88

'The more we write, the more money we get.'

8. /jɪwẽ ..., tɪwẽ .../ 'as ... so'

/jɪwẽ jɪwẽ lerⅆi   wóddi gɔi ,

tɪwẽ tɪwẽ lokã̃ de dɪl ɷⅆã̃s hunde gə̃ // /

'As the was lingered on, the people were being
disheartened.'

The repetition of these coordinates is for emphasis.

9. /...jɪs ..., óde .../ 'which ... that'

/jɪs yuniwersɪti wɪc mɜ

óde   wɪc terã̃ ku hor hindostani munde

pórda sã̃ ,

pórde son # / g-49

'In the university where I was studying, there were
about thirteen other students.'

10. /jɪtthe ..., óthe .../   'where ..., there'

/jɪtthe sundərta pap nal

óthe na zɪndgi , na rob , te na mézəb də ərth

jo_ri jandi e ,

sémje jande ne ∦ / gb-115

'Where beauty is associated with evil, life and God and
religion have no significance there.'

11. /jã ..., jã .../   'either ..., or'

/jã ó éthe reéga ,

jã   bár jáega ∦ /

'Either he will stay here or go out.'

12. /jəd ..., tã .../   'when...then'

/hun jəd jiwon

tã pərêm waŋ dəya kər nu é hor wi

khətəm ho rɪá si ,

əmólək japən ləgga ∦ / ss-113

'Now when life was coming to an end, it seemed even dearer
to Daya Kaur.'

13. /jədõ ..., odõ .../   'when ..., then'

/jədõ ó kər áega ,

odõ mə bár jáuŋga ∦ /

'When he comes home, I will go out.'

There are some coordinate pairs where "J" words occur
as second members.

14.   /eda ...., jeda .../   'this much ... that much'

/tuaĬ ede i jewãn o , jeda tuãda wiŝwaŝ ,

te   ede i búdde   , jeda tuãda ŝeŋka # / gb-113

'You are young to the extent you have confidence,
and old to the extent you have doubts.'

15.   /ona ...., jinna .../   'as ...., so'

/admi ona i ceŋga e ,

jinna

ó

miṭtha howe # /

'The more loving a man is, the better.'

16.   /xõ ...., jiwẽ .../   'as ...., if'

/per xõ japda ,

jiwẽ do sediã ho geĩã ne # / m-89

'But it looks as if two centuries have passed.'

.   The following pairs are negative coordinates:

17.   /na ...., na .../   'neither ...., nor'

/mæ na cekõr wekhia si ,

na cekõri   # /   m-27

Note the deletion of the verb phrase.

'Neither had I seen Chakor nor Chakori.'

18.　/na tã ..., na i .../　'neither ... nor'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(emphatically)

　　　　/na tã on éthe koi kem i kita ,

　　　　na i ó　　　　　šãr　gɪã // /

　'Neither he did anything useful here, nor did he

go to the city.'

19.　/nəí ..., tã na .../　'if no ... then let be no'

　　/cəŋga nəí menna ,

　　　tã　na　mən // /　1c-39

　'Well, if you do not agree, who cares.'

3.11.4.　The following text demonstrates the noun phrase

coordination in a paragraph.　The noun with which the verb
　　　agrees
phrase/is not repeated until there is a change in the
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　agrees
noun-verb agreement i.e. until the verb phrase/with some

other noun:

　　/səwãre əmrət wele əje mú càkhra hunda ,
　　Ad　　　　　　　　　　Ad　N_1　　　　V

　　kɪ ó uthdi , pàwã sərdiã hóṇ pàwã gərmia //
　　C　N_1 V　　Ad　N_3　　V　　Ad　N_3

　　nà tò ke (ó) path wi kərdi jandi te
　　Vp_1　　　　　N_3　E　V　　　　C

　　(ó) dúd dəí , cúlle coŋke da kom wi nəjɪthdi
　　　N_3　　　　　　　　　　　　　E　Vp_2

jandi # sufiã wic , posãrã wic , wéṛã wic
     Loc   Loc   Loc

(ó) càṛu bóker dendi , nɪk suk nu (ó)
      N₃   V   N₂

oǵwã pase sámbdi selíndi. # pher uɜde nɪkke
Ad   V   Ad   N₁

nɪkke pàn perà uṭh bénde , óna nu (ó)
      V   N₂

sewardi sɪkerdi # pher (ó) roṭi ṭukker de
V   Ad   N₃

ár leʦ jandi # dupárī (ó) cerkha le bándi ,
     V   Ad   N₃   V

kesída chǫ́ rekhdi # pɪchle pãr (ó) mal
N₃   V   Ad   N₃

ḏeŋgrã de peṭhe dotthe da phɪker kerdi #
                                 V

pher (ó) rat da roṭi ṭukker seṇ tõ péle
Ad   N₃   N₃

beccɪã nu dewã perɪã dɪã kehánia , te estrã
                                    C   Ad

peta nef kɪs welã ódi ekh leʦ jandi # / d-92
Ad   Ad   N₁   V

/ó/ within ( ) shows where the noun phrase is omitted in
the text. In individual sentences, this is not possible.

Translation of the above text:

'Early morning, when one could hardly see anything, she would get up, whether it was summer or winter. (She) would then take a bath and recite the sacred hymns, and at the same time (she) would take care of the milk and other things in the kitchen. Then (she) would dust off all the rooms, varandhas and so on. (She) would keep everything in order. Then her younger brothers would get up and (she) would dress them properly. Then (she) would be busy cooking the dinner. At noon, (she) would sit beside the spinning wheel, and also begin some kind of knitting. In the afternoon, (she) would take care of the fodder for the cattle. Then at night, (she) would prepare meals, and before the children go to bed (she) would tell then fairy tales; and nobody knows when her eyes were laden with sound sleep.'

3.11.4.1. Sometimes within a sentence, the noun phrase with which the verb phrase agrees, is repeated for emphasis. This can be done only occasionally in a text for stylistic effect:

> /mə məkhni nu dəssəŋga , ɔ́di gã , ɔ́da paṇi ,
> ɔ́da khet , ɔ́di ədṛàni , te ɔ́da piṯh de ke
> rɔ̃s te bə̃ṇa , mə kúj nəí pùllɪa , kəl di
> gəl waŋ sɔ́b kuj yad hə # / gs-28

'Sundar dropped his studies and started wandering around. All day (he) would be walking aimlessly in the streets like Dharwals. (He) would take messages from one person to another. (He) would do a number of odd jobs for the neighbors. If the people in the bazar wanted to mail any letter, they would give it to him. If some wandering cattle were in the way of some Halwai, Sundar would push them away.'

3.11.6. General coordination of sentences in two subsequent paragraphs:

/ɪk tã mələk umər həyãt khã di təbɪət təprɪwəs
  Crd   N₁   Pp

lut̪ẽrɪã de hətthõ zəkhmi hon pɪcchõ uñj hi dɪggũ
                                          Ad   E   A

dɪggũ rə́ndi si , dusre jɪs tərã mələk fóte khã
         V   Crd   Ad   N₁

ne nə́r bənən pɪcchõ khóa khái te tə̀re bəndi šuru
     Pp   N₃   N-

kər dɪtti sɪ ,us nal dɪl hor wɪ uprãm ho gɪã si #
V   Crd p   N₁   Ad   E   A-V

ó é janda si , kɪ mələk fóte khã ne apni jəddi
N₁ A   V   C   N₁   N₂

dušməni nu mukh rəkh ke us di jaedad nu khurd
          Vp₁   N₂   N₃

burd kərn di košiš kiti si # te jədõ us nu apni
             Vp₂   C Crd N₂   Pp

mərzi de ult mələk féte khã da khana damad bənna
        N₃   V

pɪã , tã us nu ɪs wɪc wɪ mələk féte khã di ɪk
Crd N₂   Pp   Ad N₃

komína cal nəzər ai # /
      N-V

/ó ɪk bebəs pəñchi waŋ si , jéra kɪ kani nal
N₁ N₄   V   Crd   N₄

béjja hoɪa kewəl pərã nu hɪ phərphəra səkda si ,
        Ad   N₂   E V

te zɪãda tõ zɪãda kani nu hɪ cúñjã marda hoɪa
C Ad   N₂   E N₃   Vp₁

apne gusse nu wɪãrth rup wɪc zár kər səkda si #
N₂   Pp   A Vp₂

jədõ ó pərã nu phərphəranda har gɪã , tã us nu
Crd N₁ N₂   V   Crd N₂

hɪ apne gusse da nɪšãna bəna lɪã # / n-25h
E N₃   V

Translation of the above text:

'Firstly, Malak Umar Hayat Khan was very much disturbed
because of his having been wounded by the Tapriwas robbers.
Secondly, his mind was even more upset because of Malak Fateh
Khan's party politics after the recent building of the canal.
He knew very well that Malak Fateh Khan had his ancestoral
enmity in mind and for this reason he had been trying to
disrupt his (Malak Umar Hayat Khan's) estate. And when
against his will he had to become son-in-law of Malak
Fateh Khan, he thought that even in this affair Malak Fateh
Khan was playing some game.

He was like a helpless bird who fastened to a stick
can do no more than flap his wings. At the most he could
fight with the stick to give vent to his frustration.
And when he could no more flap his wings, he made this stick
the target of his anger.'

Note the phrase structure parallelism in the above text.
The translation does not tell very much what is involved
in the structure of a Panjabi paragraph. However, both the
text and the translation do point out some patterns in
sentence constructions.

3.12. The two levels of syntax: spoken and written

3.12.1. In literary prose i.e. stories, novels, essays etc., the normal syntax patterns are:

I. /món sər gɪɑ̃ # /   'Mohan went to the city.'
    N₁   Loc V

II. /món ne són nu wekhɪa # /   'Mohan saw Sohan.'
    N₁   N₂   V

III. /món ne són nu pɪɑ̃li dɪttɪ # /
     N₁   N₂   N₃   V

'Mohan gave Sohan a cup.'

IV. /món cəŋga admɪ e # /   'Mohan is a good man.'
    N₁ N₄   V

These are the kernel sentences for the written prose. Once in a while, the order is changed to break the monotony. This change of order is based upon what is done in the spoken language.

Intonation plays a very important role in the spoken variety. In a conversation, the opening questions are major sentences i.e. Np + Vp pattern and the following dialogue is carried on in minor sentences i.e. single phrase sentences. Even in major sentences, the order of phrases changes, the phrase to be emphasized occurring at the beginning of a sentence. In folk tales or other narratives, the use of /te/ 'and' with practically every sentence is very

common. The sentences in the narratives are usually major

sentences but the order of phrases is not the same as in

the written language.

The difference of order between the written and the

spoken varieties is shown in the following conversation.

For example, we have a question:

$$\overset{3}{/\text{kɪtthe}} \quad \overset{2}{\text{gɪ̃ä}} \quad \text{sı} \quad \overset{1}{\text{mó}\underline{\text{n}}} \quad \text{\#} \; / \qquad \text{'Where did Mohan go?'}$$
$$\text{Ad} \qquad\qquad \text{V} \qquad\qquad \text{N}_1$$

(Literary syntax - N_1 + Ad + V)

and the answer is

$$\overset{2\,1}{/\text{sär}} \quad \text{\#} \; / \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{'To the city.'}$$

or

$$\overset{3}{/\text{sär}} \quad \overset{1}{\text{gɪ̃ä}} \quad \text{sı} \quad \text{\#} \; / \qquad\qquad \text{'(He) went to the city.'}$$
$$\text{Loc} \quad\; \text{V}$$

or

$$\overset{3}{/\text{sär}} \quad \text{gɪ̃ä} \quad \text{sı} \quad \overset{1}{\text{mó}\underline{\text{n}}} \quad \text{\#} \; / \qquad \text{'Mohan went to the city.'}$$
$$\text{Loc} \quad\; \text{V} \qquad\qquad \text{N}_1$$

(Literary syntax - N_1 + Loc + V)

The question

$$\overset{3}{/\text{kínne}} \quad \overset{2}{\text{wekhɪa}} \quad \text{sı} \quad \overset{1}{\text{só}\underline{\text{n}}} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{\#} \; / \quad \text{'Who saw Sohan?'}$$
$$\text{N}_1 \qquad\quad \text{V} \qquad\qquad \text{N}_2$$

is answered by

$$\overset{3}{/\text{mó}\underline{\text{n}}} \quad \overset{1}{\text{ne}} \quad \text{\#} \; / \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{'Mohan (did).'}$$

or

$$\overset{3}{/\text{mó}\underline{n}} \quad \text{ne} \quad \overset{1}{\text{wekhɪa sɪ}} \quad \# \,/ \qquad \text{'Mohan saw.'}$$
$$N_1 \qquad\qquad V$$

or

$$\overset{3}{/\text{món}} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{wekhɪa sɪ} \quad \overset{1}{\text{só}\underline{n}} \quad \text{nu} \quad \# \,/ \qquad \text{'Mohan saw Sohan.'}$$
$$N_1 \qquad\qquad V \qquad\qquad N_2$$

(Literary syntax - N_1 + N_2 + V)

and the question

$$\overset{3}{/\text{kɪó}} \quad \text{jɪá} \quad \text{admɪ} \quad \text{e} \quad \overset{2}{\text{mó}\underline{n}} \quad \# \,/ \qquad \text{'What type of man is Mohan?'}$$
$$N_4 \qquad\qquad\qquad V \quad N_1$$

(Literary syntax - N_1 + N_4 + V)

is answered by

$$\overset{2}{/\text{cəŋga}} \quad \overset{1}{\text{e}} \quad \# \,/ \qquad\qquad \text{'(He) is good.'}$$
$$N_4 \qquad V$$

or

$$\overset{2}{/\text{cəŋga}} \quad \text{admɪ} \quad \overset{1}{\text{e}} \quad \# \,/ \qquad \text{'(He) is a good man.'}$$

or

$$\overset{3}{/\text{cəŋga}} \quad \text{admɪ} \quad \text{e} \quad \overset{2}{\text{mó}\underline{n}} \quad \# \,/ \qquad \text{'Mohan is a good man.'}$$
$$N_4 \qquad\qquad\qquad V \quad N_1$$

(Literary syntax - N_1 + N_4 + V)

3.12.2. In major sentences, the order of phrases is absolutely free i.e. all types of combinations are possible. The basic constituents are - noun phrases, postpositional phrases, adjective phrases and verb phrases. For various types of adjective and noun phrases, refer to 3.8. For

verb phrases, refer to 3.9. The following three sentences from the written language and their possible variations in phrase order in the spoken variety demonstrate the flexibility in the Panjabi syntax:

I. /sara karkhana 1 home nal cel riá e # / m-74
   (with pitch marks: 3 over sara, 2 over home, 1 over cel; N₁ under sara, E under 1, Pp under nal, V under cel)

'The whole establishment is based on pride.'

This sentence can have the following possible structures:

(a) /home nal cel riá e , sara 1 karkhana # /
    (3 over home, 1 over cel, 3 over sara, 1 over karkhana; Pp under nal, V under cel, N₁ under sara, E under 1)

This sentence has two emphases, one on /home nal/, the other on /sara 1 karkhana/. Since emphatic /1/ cannot occur at the end of a sentence, it follows /sara/ instead of /karkhana/. This does not make any change in the emhpasis since only the first member of the noun phrase takes the higher intonation pitch.

(b) /cel riá e sara 1 karkhana , home nal # /
    (2 over cel, 3 over sara, 1 over karkhana, 2 over home, 1 over nal; V under cel, N₁ under sara, E under 1, Pp under home)

(c) /sara karkhana 1 cel riá e , home nal # /
    (3 over sara, 1 over cel, 2 over home, 1 over nal; N₁ under sara, E under 1, V under cel, Pp under home)

II. The sentence

/nale pàl atma siŋ sentã de meli sen # / m2-75
    (2 over nale, 3 over sentã, 1 over meli; C under nale, N₁ under pàl, N₄ under sentã, V under sen)

'Moreover, Bhai Atma Singh was a friend of the Sadhus.'

can have the following structures:

(a) /nále sᵊntã de mell sᵊn , pài atma síɳ ǂ /
C   N₄   V   N₁

In this sentence, the phrase /sᵊntã de/ is emphasized.

(b) /mell sᵊn nale sᵊntã de , pài atma síɳ ǂ /
N₄   V   C   Pp   N₁

In this sentence, /mell/ 'friend' is emphasized.

(c) /pài atma síɳ mell sᵊn nale , sᵊntã de ǂ /
N₁   N₄   V   C   Pp

In this sentence, /pài atma síɳ/ is emphasized.

(d) /nale mell sᵊn pài atma síɳ , sᵊntã de ǂ /
C   N₄   V   N₁   Pp

Besides this change of order of the phrases, there can be chnages in the intonation patterns without changing the phrase order. For intonation patterns, refer to 1.6. and 2.23.

III. The sentence

/bɪmla ɪs dorãn wɪc luk chɪp ke des de ɪk
N₁   Pp   Vp₁   Pp

kone tõ duje kone wɪc phɪrdi rᵊí ǂ / ss-193
     Pp   Vp₂

'During this period, Bimla moved secretly from one end of the country to the other.'

(Intonation pattern for the above sentence and its subsequent variations is /2 2 1/).

can have the following structures:

(a) /bɪmla ɪs dorãn wɪc luk chɪp ke phɪrdɪ ref .
    N_1 Pp Vp_1 Vp_2

    des de ɪk kone tõ duje kone wɪc // /
    Pp   Pp

(b) /luk chɪp ke phɪrdɪ ref bɪmla ɪs dorãn wɪc ,
    Vp_1 Vp_2 N_1 Pp

    des de ɪk kone tõ duje kone wɪc // /
    Pp   Pp

(c) /ɪs dorãn wɪc bɪmla luk chɪp ke phɪrdɪ ref ,
    Pp N_1 Vp_1 Vp_2

    des de ɪk kone tõ duje kone wɪc // /
    Pp   Pp

(d) /des de ɪk kone tõ duje kone wɪc phɪrdɪ ref
    Pp   Pp Vp_2

    bɪmla ɪs dorãn wɪc , luk chɪp ke // /
    N_1 Pp Vp_1

(e) /ɪs dorãn wɪc des de ɪk kone tõ duje kone
    Pp   Pp   Pp

    wɪc luk chɪp ke bɪmla phɪrdɪ ref // /
        Vp_1 N_1 Vp_2

(f) /des de ɪk kone tõ duje kone wɪc bɪmla ɪs
    Pp   Pp N_1 Pp

    dorãn wɪc luk chɪp ke phɪrdi reɪ̃ ǁ /
           Vp_1 Vp_2

(g) /ɪs dorãn wɪc des de ɪk kone tõ duje kone
    Pp   Pp   Pp

    wɪc luk chɪp ke phɪrdi reɪ̃ bɪmla ǁ /
        Vp_1 Vp_2 N_1

(h) /des de ɪk kone tõ duje kone wɪc luk chɪp
    Pp   Pp Vp_1

    ke ɪs dorãn wɪc phɪrdi reɪ̃ bɪmla ǁ /
       Pp Vp_2 N_1

The main purpose of the change of order of the phrases
is 'emphasis' and since every sentence in spoken Panjabi
is emphasized one way or the other, every possible order is
exploited. The phrase or the phrases to be emphasized are
put at the beginning of a sentence. The combinations shown
above are not merely theoretical possibilties. These changes
are very frequent in the spoken variety as demonstrated in the
texts to follow. Even in the written variety, the order is
not always consistent and according to the so-called norm.
The following examples from literature show this phenomenon
very clearly.

1. /meri duji kãni urdu di si , wærãn mændər # / m-18
   N₁   Pp   V   N₄

   'My second story, 'Wairan Mandar', was in Urdu.'

   (normal written order - N₁ + N₄ + Pp + V)

2. /lok səbna pasiã tõ nəsse , khṹ wəl nu # / ss-88
   N₁   Pp   V   Pp

   'People ran towards the well from all sides.'

   (normal written order - N₁ + Pp + Pp + V)

3. /pãna wərtɪa, te hərdùãri lal mər gɪã , hadse wɪc # /
   N₁   V   C   N₁   V   Pp
                                                        m-120

   'God so willed that Harduari Lal died in that accident.'

   (normal written order - N₁ + V , C + N₁ + Pp + V)

4. /hã̃ ji , mera pɪõ kətha kərda hunda si ,
   Voc   N₁   N₃   V

   gərɪb gurbɪã de məllɪã wɪc # / m-40
   Pp

   'Yes sir, my father used to exegite in the poor sections
of the city.'

   (normal written order - Voc , N₁ + Pp + N₃ + V)

5. /kəsũr sara hæ , lal kəgre da # / m-120
   N₁   A   V   Pp

   'The whole trouble started with the 'red skirt','

   (normal written order - Pp + A + N₁ + V)

6. /bebe , meri te jan̲ suk gəI e , phıker nal # /
     Voc   N$_1$ E   V   Pp

                                                     1c-20

'Mother, I am scared to death under this pressure.'

(normal order - Voc , N$_1$ + Pp + V)

7. /é cár̲dıã̃ ı hundıã̃ ne , mərdã̃ bın̲a # / so-32
     N$_1$ V   E   Pp

'Without men, they (women) can make a hell of it.'

(normal order - N$_1$ + Pp + V)

8. /jıs de kıse ne nəı gawẽ̃ sən gun , te nəí
     N$_2$ N$_1$ Neg V   N$_3$ C Neg

    kıtı sı kırtı # / wa-79
       V   N$_3$

'Neither did anyone sing songs for him nor was he praised.'

(normal order - N$_1$ + N$_2$ + N$_3$ + V , C + N$_3$ + V)

    In this kind of coordinate sentence, the normal order
          unemphatic
seems so / that it is inconceivable that the writer could
have ever used it.

9. /nıt edã̃ ı kuttıã̃ gewən̲a hunds ən # /   p.117
     Ad   Ad   E N$_3$ V   N$_1$

'Everyday the food is spoiled like this.'

(normal order - N$_1$ + Ad + Ad + E + V)

<u>3.12.3.</u> Minor sentences are generally one phrase sentences.
In a conversation, the opening questions are major sentences
and all the following sentences are minor. For example,
if the first question is /e̋ ki a # / 'What is this?',
the following question would be simply /te e̋ // / 'And that.'
There are two ways to form question sentences - by using
"K" words and by the use of question intonation. Those
questions which have "K" words are answered by suitable
substitutions for these "K" words. For a list of "K" words
and their substitutes, refer to 3.12.3.1. A question sentence
based only on the question intonation is answered by /hã/
'yes' or /nəí/ 'no'. For example, the question
/mó̰n giã si // / 'Did Mohan go?' is answered by /hã/ 'yes'
or /nəí/ 'no'. Of course, after /hã/ or /nəí/ the whole
sentence can be repeated. For example, for a 'yes' answer
we can say /hã , mó̰n giã si # / 'Yes, Mohan did go.'
A 'no' answer is /nəí , mó̰n nəí si giã // / 'No, Mohan
did not go.' In a 'no answer, /nəí/ has to be repeated
after /,/.

     There is always a phrase balance between the question
and the answer. Examples:

1.   /kis nu phəṟia si # /   'Who was caught?'
      /mó̰n nu phəṟia si # /   'Mohan was caught.'
or   /mó̰n nu # /   'Mohan (+ /nu/ p.)'

2. /k̄ɪs ne akhɪa si # /   'Who said?'
    /m̄óṇ ne akhɪa si # /   'Mohan said.'
or /m̄óṇ ne # /   'Mohan (+ /ne/ p.)'

3. /k̄ɪs nal aɪa si # /   'Who did(he)come with?'
    /m̄óṇ nal aɪa si # /   '(He) came with Mohan.'
or /m̄óṇ nal # /   'Mohan (+ /nal/ p.)'

In an answer, the whole sentence can be repeated or
preferably only the emphatic phrase.

<u>3.12.3.1.</u> Following is a list of "K" words and their substi-
tutes in the answer sentences:

"K" Words	Substitutes
/koṇ/ 'who'	Animate noun or noun phrase
/kéra/ 'who'	Animate noun or noun phrase
/kɪs/ +/postposition (any)	Animate noun or noun phrase + any postposition
/kɪtthõ/ 'from where'	/ŝặrõ/ 'from the city' or any other structurally equivalent phrase
/kɪwẽ/ 'how'	/ewẽ/ 'like this' or any other equivalent phrase
/kɪõ/ 'why'	/ɪõ/ 'this way' or any other equivalent phrase

/kɪñj/ 'how'

/kəd/ ~ /kədð̃/ 'when'

/kæsa/ ~ /kɪó jɪá/
    'of what kind'

/ɪñj/ 'this way' or any other
equivalent phrase

/kəl/ 'tocmorrow' or any other
equivalent phrase

/æsa/ ~ /óo jɪá/ 'of this kind'
or any other equivalent phrase

3.13. Texts

The following texts from literature and tape recordings demonstrate the structural differences between the spoken and the written varieties of Panjabi. Also, they show the coordination patterns within sentences and paragraphs. Each sentence in these texts is analysed from the point of view of 'phrase structure' and also that of the 'immediate constituents'. The numbers below the phrase markers are the immediate constituent cuts. Number 1 divides the sentence into two constituents - intonation and the sentence without the intonation. Then each successive immediate constituent division is designated by a number one digit higher than the highest adjoining number.

3.13.1. The following dialogue is taken from Sant Singh
Sekhon's one-act play 'Mahatma' from the selection 'Che Ghar',
published by Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, sixth printing, 1950.

/rádã/
$$\overset{3}{/\text{dúd}} \quad \text{ni} \quad \overset{2}{\text{pina}} \quad //$$
N₃   Neg V
2   3   1

'Won't you have some milk?'

/ni/ 'no' is alternate colloquial form of /nəí/.

/dɪãl/
$$\overset{3}{/\text{dúd}} \quad \text{wi} \quad \overset{2}{\text{pîũ}} \; , \quad \overset{3}{\text{roti}} \quad \text{wi} \quad \overset{2}{\text{kháũ}} \; \# \, /$$
N₃   Ad   V   N₃   Ad   V
3   2³   3   1

'(Yes) I'll drink milk and eat bread as well.'

/šamo/
$$\overset{2}{/\text{roti}} \quad \text{kər} \quad \overset{3}{\text{hæ}} \quad \text{i} \quad \overset{2}{\text{ni}} \; \# \, /$$
N₃   Loɔ V   E   Neg
2   3   5   4   1

'There isn't any bread at home.'

$$\overset{2}{/\text{mæ}} \quad \text{tere} \quad \text{loí} \quad \overset{3}{\text{roti}} \quad \text{rəkkhi} \quad \text{si} \quad \overset{1}{\text{ik}} \; , \quad \overset{2}{\text{ó}} \quad \text{ma}$$
N₁   Pp   N₃   V   A   N₃ N₁
3   4³   5   6   2 3

$$\text{ne} \quad \overset{3}{\text{sád}} \quad \text{nu} \quad \overset{1}{\text{de}} \quad \text{dɪtti} \; \# \, /$$
N₂   V
3²   4   1

'I kept a (loaf of) bread for you. Mother gave it
to the Sadh.'

/rádā̃/   /kəmjɛ̃t   ,   ónu   ru̇ndi   e # /
```
2 1              2    3      1
Voc              N₂   V
                 2²   3        1
```

'You wretch, you are making him cry.'

/šamo/   /leɽdi   kɪõ   m̃ # /
```
3              1
V       Ad
        2       1
```

'Why are you grumbling?'

/lɪã̀   dɪnni   ā̃   ,   dúd # /
```
3            1      2 1
V                   N₃
     3              2³    1
```

'I'll bring (you) some milk.'

/apni   ma   bəɽi   pə̀ɽi   æ   ,   dɪɛ̃l # /
```
2            3          1      2 1
N₁           Ɲ̣          V      Voc
             3          4      2     1
```

'Our mother is very unfair, Dayal.'

/mere   kã̀ndi   kã̀ndi   tõ   tere   wali   roṭi
```
2     3
Pp    Vp₁                    p    N₃
      3                      4    2³
```

kuṭia   wale   sád   nu   de   dɪtti # /
```
                        1
N₂                           V
3²                           4              1
```

'In spite of my objections, (she) gave the bread
to the Sadh from the Kutia.'

/dɪɛ̃l/   /ma   t̠ā̃   na   howe # /
```
3            2
Voc     Neg  V
        2    3        1
```

'What a mother?'

/s̃amo/   /læ dúd , dɪ̃l # /
           V   N₃   Voc
               3   2   1

'Dayal, have some milk.'

/dɪ̃l/   /mæ ni dúd piṇa , mæ tã roṭi kháṇi æ̃ # /
           N₁ Neg N₃ V   N₁ E N₃ V
             4   3   4   2   4   3   4   1

'I won't drink milk, I want to eat bread.'

/æ/ and /æ̃/ are dialectal variations for /e/ and /ẽ/, the former used in /malwi/, the latter in /máji/.

/s̃amo/   /huṇ roṭi kɪtthõ lɪàwã # /
           Ad   N₃   Ad   V
            2   3   4   1

'Where will I get the bread now?'

3.13.2. The following dialogue is taken from Ishwar Chandar Nanda's one-act play 'Eh Dumne' from the selection 'Lishkare', published by Nanda Sahit Bhawan, New Delhi, 1953.

/məŋgtu/ /ó̌ šá , mú nal gol kər , tòkke den da kí
        Voc   Pp   N₃ V   Vp₁   p Ad
                 2 4 5   3   4

rá e # /
N₃ V
   5 1

'O Shah, can't you talk, why are you pushing me?'

/búl wi nəí gɪlle kərn dɪtte tṹ ∥ /
N₃ Ad Neg A V N₁
       3 4 5   2   1

'You didn't even let me wet my lips.'

/dola/ /hə̃ , tər tər kəri janda ẽ əggõ səgõ # /
     E   N₃   V   Pp
          2   4   3   1

'Well, why do you continue such chatter?'

/oe kɪn akhɪa si tenu , khú utte cə́r ∥ /
Voc Ad V N₂ Pp V
    2 5   4   3   4 1

'Who said you could come to the well?'

/məŋgtu/ /oe šá , mæ kí kərda # /
       Voc   N₁ Ad V
               2 3 4   1

'O Shah, what could I do?'

```
   3       2                              1
/tũ  tã  búe  mar  ke  heṭṭi  əndər  sutta  pɪã  sã̃ #/
 Voc E   Vp₁          Pp          V
         2                    3           4                1
```

'You were taking a nap in your shop with the doors

closed.'

```
         2       2           3                1
/dola/  /te hor  mæ  tere  pɪõ  da  nəkər  ləgga  hoɪa
         C   Ad  N₁        Kʌ           V
                2    3                        4
```

```
  ã  ,  je  tenu  paṇi  pɪlõn  leɪ  sɪkhər  dupǽre
         Crd  N₂   Pp                Ad
          3    4                      5
```

```
  bəṭha  rówã̃  # /
  V
  6              1
```

'Do you think, I am your father's servant to sit

here at mɪd day and offer you water?'

```
          2   2́       3              1           2    3
/məŋgtu/ /te  šá  ,  akhər  kéṟi  a  goɪ  ,  mæ  ḍol
          C   Voc    N₁     Nʌ̃  V          N₁   N₃
                      2      4    5          3    4
```

```
  ké̱d  lɪã  te  # /
  V          E
  5          6    1
```

'And Shah, so what if I happened to draw the bucket

myself?'

```
   3      1              2              1
/tɪǽɪa  mərda  si  ,  əg  pa  ke  mañj  lo  # /
 N₄     V            N₃  Vp₁   Vp₂
        3            2    4     3              1
```

'I was dying of thirst. You can cleanse (it)

with fire.'

/dola/   /əg pa ke mañj lo ///
            N3   Vp1   Vp2
            3   2   1

'Cleanse with fire ⅃ '

2   1   2   3   1
/sɪr sərɪda , kɪá gəllã əggõ məṛàkɪ janda ə # /
Voc   A   N3   p   V
                 2   3   4   5   1

'Insolent, how he chatters!'

2   3   1
/tũ khú te kɪõ córɪa ẽ # /
Voc Loc   Ad   V
     2   3   4   1

'Why did you get on the well?'

2   3   2
/tera mətləb kɪ ///
 N3   Ad
              2   1

'How dare you?'

3.13.3. The following paragraph is taken from Mohan Singh Dewana's short story 'Bapu' from the selection 'Parandi', published by Kasturi Lal and Son, Amritsar, 1955.

1.
```
       2 1      2                        3               1
   /aho  ,   tenu   teɛ Ilõ   pɪãda   noʈoɛ   den   onda   # /
   Voc       N2     Loc       N1      N3      V
                    2         3       4       5     6             1
```

'Yes, you wish that somebody should come from the Tehsil to give you the notice.'

2.
```
      2 1    3                 1             3       1
   /lɪm  ,  wekhɪa   je   pài   ji   ,   à   je   hal   # /
   Voc      V             Voc            Ad  E   N3
            3             4              2       3         1
```

'You see, Bhai ji, this is all they do.'

3.
```
     2          1                2      3                          2
   /tede   mɔ   keínda   ,   pàwɛ̃   so   pàɲa   hón   te   do
   Ad      N1   V            Ad     N1          V     C    N1
           3    4            2      5           6     4    5
```

```
             3            1
   so   perà   ,   ma   bàj   put   rul   jande   ne   # /
                   Pp         N1    V
                   3          4     5                         1
```

'That is why I tell you that even if there a hundred sisters and two hundred brothers, the sons are ruined without mother.'

4.
```
     2                    2               1
   /əj   benti   nu   surgwas   hoɪã   peñj   wére   hoe   ne   ,
   Ad    N2           Vp1             N3            V
         4            5               3             4
```

```
     3                          2        1
   herãm   hɪm   jo   ɪk   wi   kem   ʈhuk   sɪr   hoɪa   howe   # /
   A       V     Crd  N1        A            V
   2       4     3    4         5            6             1
```

'It is five years since Bantl passed away, I swear,
there is not a thing that has gone right.'

```
        2                      3                    1
5.    /mæ  te  báguru  əgge  ëo  ərdãsa  sódda  tur  jáŋga ,
      N₁   E   Pp            N₃          Vp₁    Vp₂
                3            4           5      6

      2       3      1           2    3       1
      pəl  je  búri  dəI  ,   tã  toɼ  di  dəI  # /
      Ad   Crd N₃    V           Crd N₃        V
      2    4   5     6           3   4          5      1
```

'I will die praying to God that if He blesses one with
                                                    live
a wife, He should bless with a wife who should/all his life.'

```
        2      1            2      3          1
6.    /pælã  na  mere ,  dóã  de  nalo  nal  pərãn  nɪkləṉ  # /
      Ad     Neg V       Pp       Pp        N₁     V
             3           2        3         4      5            1
```

'(She) shouldn't die before (the husband does), both
should breathe their last at one and the same time.'

```
        3          1
7.    /dóe  sɪãpe  ɪkko  jəé  # /
      N₁         A
                  2            1
```

'Both thecalamities (are) of the same magnitude.'

```
        2   3      1               2    3       1       2
8.    /je  pælã  mər  gəI  ,  tã  thóɼ  máru  ,  te  je
      Crd Ad    V           Crd A     V          C   Crd
          4     5           3   4     5          2   4

      2         2                    1
      pɪochõ  ,  tã  sûrgã  wɪo  bi  cɪnta  ləggi  rəú ,
      Ad        Crd Loc         E   N₃     V
                3   5               6      7

      2        1
      khəbrə  pɪoche  ki  guzrɪ  # /
      Ad      Loc     Ad  V
      4       5       6   7          1
```

/bi/ is of /malwi/ dialect, it corresponds to standard
Panjabi /wi/ 'also'.

'If she dies before (the husband dies), it will be a
great problem, and if she dies after, then even in heaven
(the husband) will be worried what is happening after him.'

9.
2	1		3	1		3		1	
/celo	eccha	,	jo	guru	kerdæ	,	wã	wã	kerdæ # /
Ad			Crd	N_1	V		A	V	
			2	A^1	5		3	4	1

'Anyway, whatever the Guru does is all right.'

10.
2		1		2	1	
/celo	oe	món	són ,	éder	áo	# /
Voc				Loc	V	
				2	3	1

'Come on. Mohan and Sohan, come here.'

11.
2 1		2									
/mánia	,	apni	lek	di	koi	rengi	cader	læ	a	# /
Voc		N_3							V		
		2							3	1	

'O Mahne, bring some colored Chadar of yours.'

12.
3				1			2	3		1		
/par	ke	bena	de	do	langrã	,	te	bón	de	dóã	nu	# /
Vp_1		Vp_2		N_3			C	V		N_2		
		A		3			2	3		A		1

'Tear it into two and put it on both of them.'

13.
2	1			2		1	
/celo	pái	ji	,	apã	te	cellie	# /
Voc				N_1	E	V	
				2		3	1

'O.K., Bhai Ji, let us go.'

3.13.4. The following paragraph is taken from Gurbax Singh's essay 'Taj te Saru' from the selection 'Merian Abhul Yadan', Preet Nagar Press, Preet Nagar, fourth edition, 1954.

1. /perchawã tõln legge # /
    N_1 V
            2   1

'The shadows began to fall.'

2. /seru de hethã eje khub canen si # /
    Loc   Ad N_1 V
             2   3^1   4   1

'There was still light under the Saru.'

3. /per taj de ender henèra bõt gúṛa hunda ja rɪá
    C   Loc N_1 A Vp_1 Vp_2
         2   4^1   5   6   7

    hówega , kɪ deršek muṛ reé sen # /
             Crd N_1 V
             3   4^1   5   1

'But it must bhave been getting dark inside the Taj because the tourists were leaving.'

4. /mæ socɪa , je kede taj de ender põnde nu
    N_1 V   Crd Ad Loc Vp_1 p
           3   2   4   5   7^1

    wekt léng jaṇ da peta na legge , lok cəle
    N_3 Neg Vp_2 N_1 V
    6   7   8   3   5

    jáṇ , te derwâza bend ho jae , te mæ óthe
          C N_1 V   C N_1 Loc
          4   6   7   5   6^1   7

2
ɪkɐlla   rã͂   jawã   # /   ....
A   V
8   9   1

'I thought that if sometimes I lost track of the time
while touring around the Taj and the tourists left and all
the doors were closed and I was left alone ...'

```
         2               3        1
5.      /mera  koləʒa  tək  tək  kərn  ləɡ  pɪã  # /
         N₁              A        V
                         2        3              1
```

'My heart beat fast.'

```
         2                    3
6.      /gumbəd  de  əndərlɪã  sái  hɪrɪã  jəɾɪã  kəbrã
         N₁
```

```
         1
        dərõnia  ləɡɡən  ləɡ  pəɪã  # /
        V
         2                            1
```

'The royal, jeweled tombs inside the dome were frightening.!'

3.13.5. The following text is taken from a tape recording
by Daud Rahbar, a native of Lahore.

```
        2 1        2              1
1.    /eccha  ,  bekló  de  wɪc  ɪk  choni  hundi  si  ,
      Voc        Loc              N1         V
                 2               A1          5
```

```
      2     1
      beri  weddi  #  /
      A
      3              1
```

'Well, there used to be a very big cantonement in Bakloh.'

```
        2                          2
2.    /jəng  de  zəmane  wɪc  óthe  gorkhiã  di  koi
      Pp                     Loc   N1
                             2     3
```

```
      1
      rəjmənt  reindi  si  #  /
               V
               4             1
```

'In war time, a Gorkha regiment was staying over there.'

```
        2                     3            1         2 1
3.    /te  mere  səb  tõ  wedde  jére  pài  a  ,  ó  dakter
      C   N1                          V     N1 N4
          2                          4     3  5
```

```
                2              1
      sən  ,  os  rəjmənt  de  nal  #  /
      V      Pp
      6      4                 1
```

'And my eldest brother was a doctor in that regiment.'

```
        2                                   2
4.    /peta  nəi  forth  gorkha  rəjmənt  jã  es  tərã  da
      Ad   Neg  N4                       C   A
                2                        3   5
```

```
      1
      óda  na  si  #  /
      N1      V
      4       5    1
```

'(I) don't know, its name was the Fourth Gorkha Regiment
or something like that.'

```
      2 1        2              1
5.    /khar  ,  óthe  ɪk  hor  dakṭor  si  # /
      Ad         Loc   N₁            V
                 2     3             4      1
```

'Anyway, there was an other doctor.'

```
      2            2                  1           2  3
6.    /óthe  jéṛa  mokãn  mɪlɪa  si  óna  nu  ,  ó  bót
      Loc   N₁           V          N₂          Crd N₄
            3            5          4           2   3

            1
      wedda  si  # /
             V
             4      1
```

'The house, they had there, was very big.'

```
      2      2        1
7.    /te  óde  do  hɪsse  sen  # /
      C   N₁   N₄         V
          2    3          4      1
```

'And it had two sections.'

```
      3           1             2  3
8.    /ɪk  hɪssa  óna  kol  si  ,  te  ɪk  hɪsse  oe  kol
      N₁         Pp   V          C   Loc            N₁
                 3    4          2   3              5

             1
      hor  si  dusra  dakṭor  # /
           V   N₄
           6   4                 1
```

'He had one section and in the other section there was
another doctor.'

9.   /te ó puráne wəktã de koi phoj de d̲a̲k̲t̲ər sen # /

Above the line: 2 (over te), 3 (over puráne), 1 (over de koi region)

C N₁   V

    2   3   1

'And he was a traditional military doctor.'

10. /te óthe mæ wi do ke wari gɪã ã , óthe

With markings: 2 (te), 3 (óthe region), 1 (gɪã), 2 (óthe)

C Loc N₁ Ad Ad   V   Loc

    2   4¹   5   6   3

bəkló , os jəgá te # /

With markings: 2 (bəkló), 2 (os), 1 (te)

           Loc

           4   1

'And I have been to Bakloh a couple of times.'

11. /te dɪl de wæse bəɟe i ecohe si ó d̲a̲k̲t̲ər sáb # /

With markings: 2 (te), 3 (bəɟe), 1 (ó)

C N₄   V N₁

    2   4 3¹   1

'And that doctor was otherwise a very nice man.'

12. /d̲a̲k̲t̲ər gəni kɪ pəta nəi é nam si óna da # /

With markings: 2 (d̲a̲k̲t̲ər), 3 (é), 1 (óna)

  N₄   C Ad Neg N₁   V Pp

                3   4   2¹ 4 3   1

'I am not sure but probably Doctor Gani was his name.'

13. /te os jəgá te , bəkló wɪc óna ne do rəkkhɪã

With markings: 2 (te), 1 (te), 2 (bəkló), 3 (do)

C Loc   Loc   N₁   A V

    2   3   4¹   6 7

holã si méjjã # /

With marking: 1 (méjjã)

         N₃

         5   1

'And at that place, in Bakloh, he had two buffaloes.'

14.   /óthe óna da koi phoj da apna   nəí hæ ga si ,
       Loc N1   Neg E E V
           3   4 5 6

      dəngər tòr # /
      N3
      2   1

'The army did not have their own cattle.'

15.   /pər ó jére koi pàṛie pùṛie hunde , éna koló
       C   N1   V   Pp
          2   4   3

      dúd khərídde si sare # /
      N3 V   N1
      4   6   5   1

'But all of them used to purchase milk from the hill-people.'

16.   /pər ó pàṛie jére hunde a , tuànu pəta ,
       C   N1   V   N2   Ad
         2   4   3   5

      wɪc rəla dende a pani # /
      p   V   N3
      4   6   5   1

'But as you know, those hill people mix water in it.'

17.   /te é dakṭer sáb de kər , ó jéra si , óthõ
       C   Loc   N1   V   N4
         2   3   5   4

      da kərnäl , ó aɪa # /
            N1   N1 V
            5   5 6   1

'And the colonel of that place came to Doctor Sahib's.'

3.13.6. The following text is taken from a tape recording
by Kundan Singh Dhillon, a native of /tǝ̱ṯṯhi khara/,
Tehsil Tarn Taran, District Amritsar - twelve miles from
Amritsar city.

```
        2      1          2      1
1.  /ɪk   si  cɪr̠i  ,  te  ɪk   si  kã  # /
     A    V   N₁         C   A   V   N₁
          ⁴   3¹             2   3   5   ⁴¹      1
```

'Therè lived a sparrow and a crow.'

```
        2                1             2    3       1
2.  /te   óna   ne   rǝl   ke   selá   kiti  ,  pǝ̀l  khɪcr̠i  bǝnáie # /
     C    N₁         Vp₁        Vp₂          Ad    N₃        V
```

'And they decided to cook Khichṟi.'

```
        2   3   1        2             3          1
3.  /te   kã   gɪã  ,  te   óne   lɪã̀nda  moṯhã   da   dana  # /
     C    N₁   V      C    N₁    V        N₃
          2¹   ⁴      3    ⁴¹   6        5³                        1
```

'And the crow went and brought a grain of Moth.'

```
        2               3        1
4.  /te   cɪr̠i   lɪã̀i  celã   da   dana   # /
     C    N₁    V     N₃
          2     ⁴     3³                    1
```

'And the sparrow brought a grain of rice.'

```
        2   3     1
5.  /óna   rínna   tò̀r   ta   # /
     N₁    V
           2                   1
```

'They put it(on the stove) for cooking.'

```
        2             1
6.  /te   cɪr̠i   ne   akhɪa   # /
     C    N₁        V
          2          3         1
```

'And the sparrow said -'

```
     2                    2
7.  /kã  mere  nalõ  tekra  # /
    N₁   Pp           A
         2            3          1
```

'The crow (is) stronger than I.'

```
    2    3           2       2            2
8.  /te  kha  éne  jana  sara  ,  moĩnu  ki  lêbbu  # /
    C    V    N₁         A       N₂      Ad  V
         2    4          5       3       4   5          1
```

'And he will eat all of it, and what would I get?'

```
    2        1      2      2
9.  /te  cɪrɪ  éndi  ,  kawã  kawã  // /
    C    N₁    V       Voc
         2     4       3              1
```

'And the sparrow said, O crow, O crow !'

```
     2          1        2      3
10. /mæ  ríndi  pəĩ  ã  ,  te  tũ  pèj  ke  thenda  pani
    N₁   V               C   Voc Vp₁     N₃
         3               2   3   5       6
```

```
              1
    læ  a  khũí  tõ  # /
    Vp₂    Loc
    7      4              1
```

'I am cooking. You run and bring some cold water from

the well.'

```
     2    1        2    1         2    2
11. /kã  ánda  ,  pəĩ  ceŋga  ,  mæ  lɪóna  # /
    N₁   V         Ad          N₁   V
         3         2           3    4          1
```

'The crow said,"O.K.,I will bring it."'

```
    2     3        1
12. /te  kã  pani  læn  cela  gɪã  # /
    C    N₁  N₃    Vp₁  Vp₂
         2   3     5    4              1
```

'And the crow went to fetch water.'

13. /ci̱ri̱ da lơg gi̱ã da # /
    Pp   V   N₃
    (2)   (2)   3³   1

'The sparrow got the opportunity.'

14. /ónu kha pi ke te luke̱n nu mu̱rke thã na lớbbe # /
    N₂ Vp₁   C Pp   Ad   N₁ Neg Vp₂
        (2)   3 4   5   6 7   8   1

'After eating everything she couldn't find a place

to hide.'

15. /ó cơkki də gơ̱nd wi̱c wơ̱r gơi̱ # /
    N₁ Loc   V
    (2) (2)   3   1

'She hid herself in the wheel of the handmill.'

16. /bárð kã ai̱a # /
    Loc N₁ V
         (2) 3   1

'The crow came from outside.'

17. /jã óne wekhi̱a , pơi ci̱ri̱ kíddər gơi̱ # /
    Crd N₁ V   Ad N₁   Loc   V
        (2)(1) 4   3   4   5   6   1

'When he looked around where the sparrow had gone ...'

18. /te lớbdi̱ã lớbdi̱ã , óder wekh , óder wekh ,
    C   V   Loc V   Loc V
        (2)   4   6   5   6

    lớbbe na ki̱te # /
    V   Neg Loc
    3   5   4   1

'And he was searching all over, but he was unable to find

her anywhere.'

19. /te ándiã guándiã nu puɔhɪa # /
    C N2   V
       2²   3   1

'And (he) asked the neighbors.'

20. /ánde , hune 1 si gi éthe # /
    V   Ad   E V   Løc
                2   4   3   1

'They said, she was here just now.'

21. /khɪorɪ rínen dəɪ si # /
    N3   Vp1 Vp2
              2   3   1

'(She) was cooking Khichri.'

22. /te tĩ lagõ 1 te gɪã # /
    C Voc Loc E E V
          2   3   4   1

'And you had just left her.'

23. /te óne wekh wakh ke khoj kéddɪa , te cəkkɪ
    C N1 Vp1   N3 Vp2   C Loc
       2   4   5   6   3   4

   nu gɪã # /
      V
      5   1

'And he carefully looked for the footsteps and the
footsteps led him to the handmill.'

24. /óne wekh ləɪ bəɪthɪ gənd thelle # /
    N1 V   A   Loc
        3   4   2   1

'He saw her sitting under the wheel of the handmill.'

25. /ṓne kíta , ɪk selā̃i cúlle cə rəkh tí # /
    N1   V   N3   Loc   V
    2   1   2   3   1
     3   3   2   3   4   1

'He placed a needle in the fire-place.'

/tí/ is abbreviated form of /dɪttí/ 'gave'.

26. /jā̃ tettí ho gəɪ na , te lɪ̀ã ke ṓde púñje
    Crd A   V   E   C   Vp1   Loc
    3   1   2   2   4   3
       2   4   5

    cə de dɪttí # /
    Vp2
    6   1

'When(it)was hot,(he)pushed(it)into her back.'

27. /te cɪrɪ ā́ndi , cī̃ cī̃ mera púñja serɪa # /
    C   N1   V   Ad   N3   V
    2   1   4   3   4   5
       2   4   5   1

'And the sparrow cried, /cī̃ cī̃/, my back is burnt.'

28. /kā̃ ā́nda , kɪ̃ð perā̃ɪa khɪccər khā́da # /
    N1   V   Ad   N3   V
    2   1   3   2 3   4
       3   2   3   4   1

'The crow replied, why did (she) eat Khichar of others.'

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